

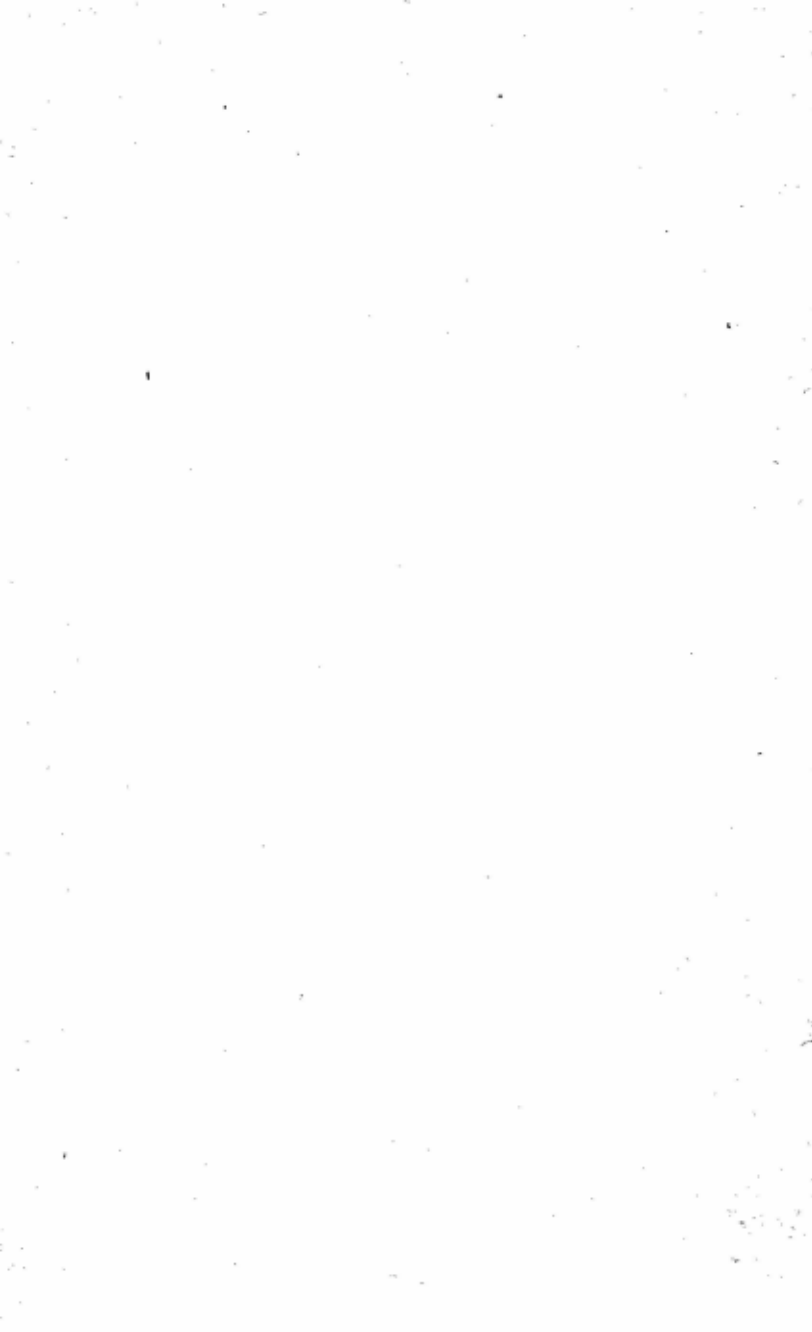
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

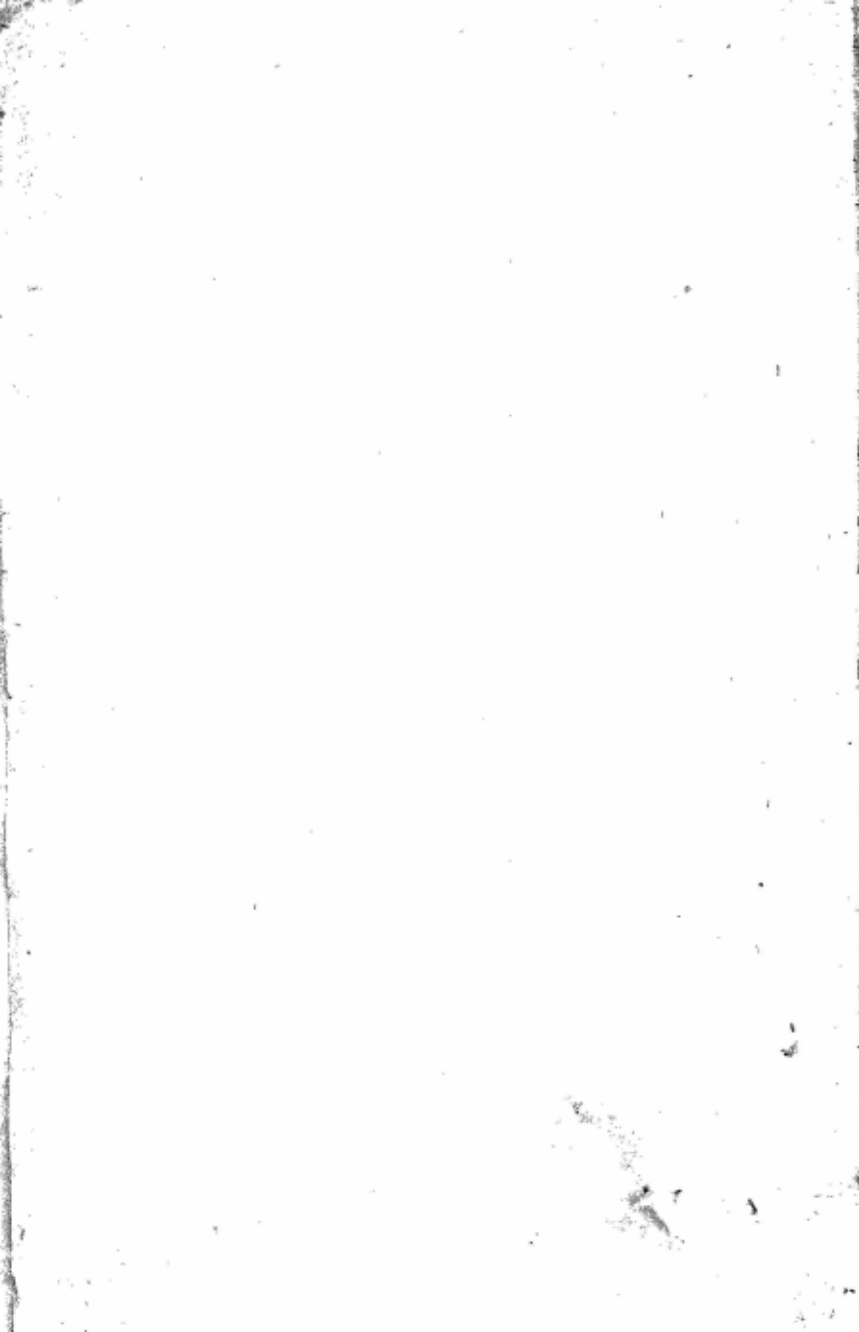
CENTRAL
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 10960

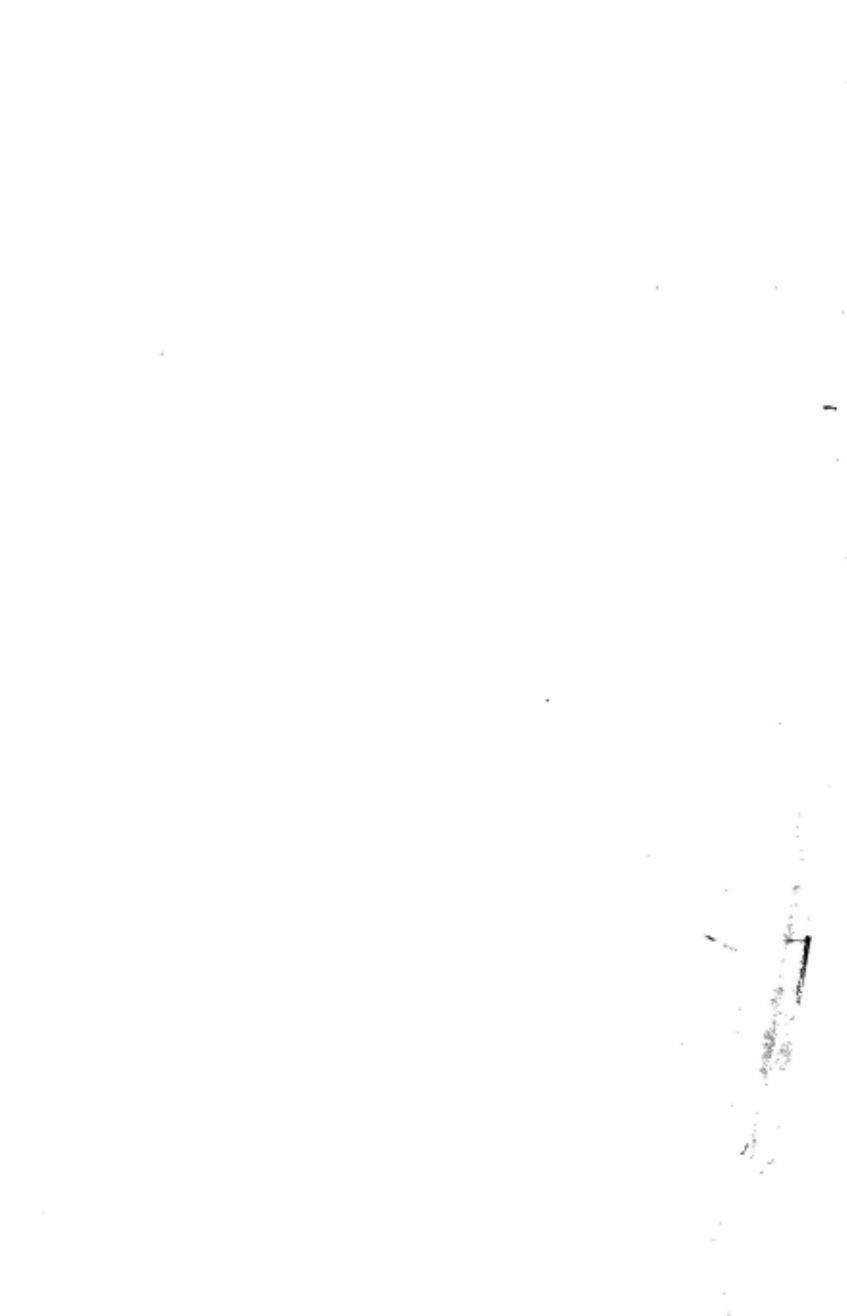
CALL No. 641.0954/Omp.

D.G.A. 79





FOOD AND DRINKS
IN
ANCIENT INDIA



FOOD AND DRINKS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1200 A.D.)

1200 A.D. TO PRESENT

1200 A.D. TO PRESENT

by

OM PRAKASH

With a Foreword by

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA

JOINT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA
NEW DELHI

10960



641.0354
Om P

S. 1. 394.10754
Om P



MUNSHI RAM MANOHAR LAL
ORIENTAL BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS
NAI SARAK, DELHI-6

FIRST EDITION : 1961

© MUNSHI RAM MANOHAR LAL, DELHI

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 10960.....

Date 13.11.61.....

Call No. 641.0954.....

Emp

Price : Rupees Thirty

PREFACE

This monograph on Food and Drinks in Ancient India is mainly a study of the food habits of Indians from the earliest times to C. 1200 A.D. in which I have tried to reconstruct the picture on the basis of all available sources—literary, epigraphic and archaeological. This was originally written as a thesis for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi and later approved by it.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Head of the Department of Indology, Benares Hindu University, who advised me to undertake this work. To my *Itibāsaguru*, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, and my supervisor, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, I am highly indebted for their kind guidance and advice. I have received help and encouragement from various sources, from colleagues, as well as scholars engaged in research work. Special mention should be made here also of late Dr. P. K. Gode, who ungrudgingly supplied me with all the information I asked for.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala had kindly agreed to write a Foreword to this monograph but unfortunately I could not have the privilege of it on account of his serious illness. When the publication of the book was nearing completion, I approached Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, with a request to write a few words and I am profoundly grateful to him for the favour he has done me by contributing a Foreword to this book.

I am also grateful to Sri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, for kindly allowing me the opportunity to consult the books on the subject in his Library. To my Publishers, Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, my thanks are due for the great interest they have taken in the book and the nice style in which they have brought it out. I have also received the fullest co-operation from the Printers, The Allahabad Law Journal Press Ltd., Allahabad.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I did not acknow-

ledge the constant encouragement and inspiration which I received from my father Sri Durga Prasad whose saintly life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of education will always serve as a guiding star to me.

KIRORIMAL COLLEGE,
DELHI UNIVERSITY

OM PRAKASH

FOREWORD

The most obvious is least noticed. Eyes refuse to see the nearest. In history, one is prone to probe into weighty problems concerning rise and fall of empires, wars and treaties between nations, policies and principles behind constitutions, and the like. Ordinary events are taken for granted. They are often brushed aside as something unworthy of serious attention.

'Food is life' अन्नं वै प्राणा : expound the *Upanishads*, and 'All actions stem from food' सर्वारम्भा ओदन-प्रसव-मूला : says an adage; but how often does one think of what gives life and activates, in terms of history or even otherwise?

Old and narrow conception of history having given place to a new and all-embracing one, historians of today are venturing upon untrodden fields and are bringing into limelight what hitherto lay dim and obscure, thereby broadening knowledge and enriching history. The present disquisition of Dr. Om Prakash is indeed a venture of that description.

He confines his enquiry to *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* and goes as far back as the material available could take him. Life on earth began with hunt for food, and continues as such, with endless variety and variation that certainly make a history worth studying.

Dr. Om Prakash has presented the results of his limited but intensive investigation in a very readable manner. He has marshalled the data in a way at once instructive and interesting. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating : the reader is invited to eat it.

B. CH. CHHABRA

NEW DELHI,
Thursday, June 22, 1961.

*Joint Director-General of Archaeology
in India, New Delhi.*

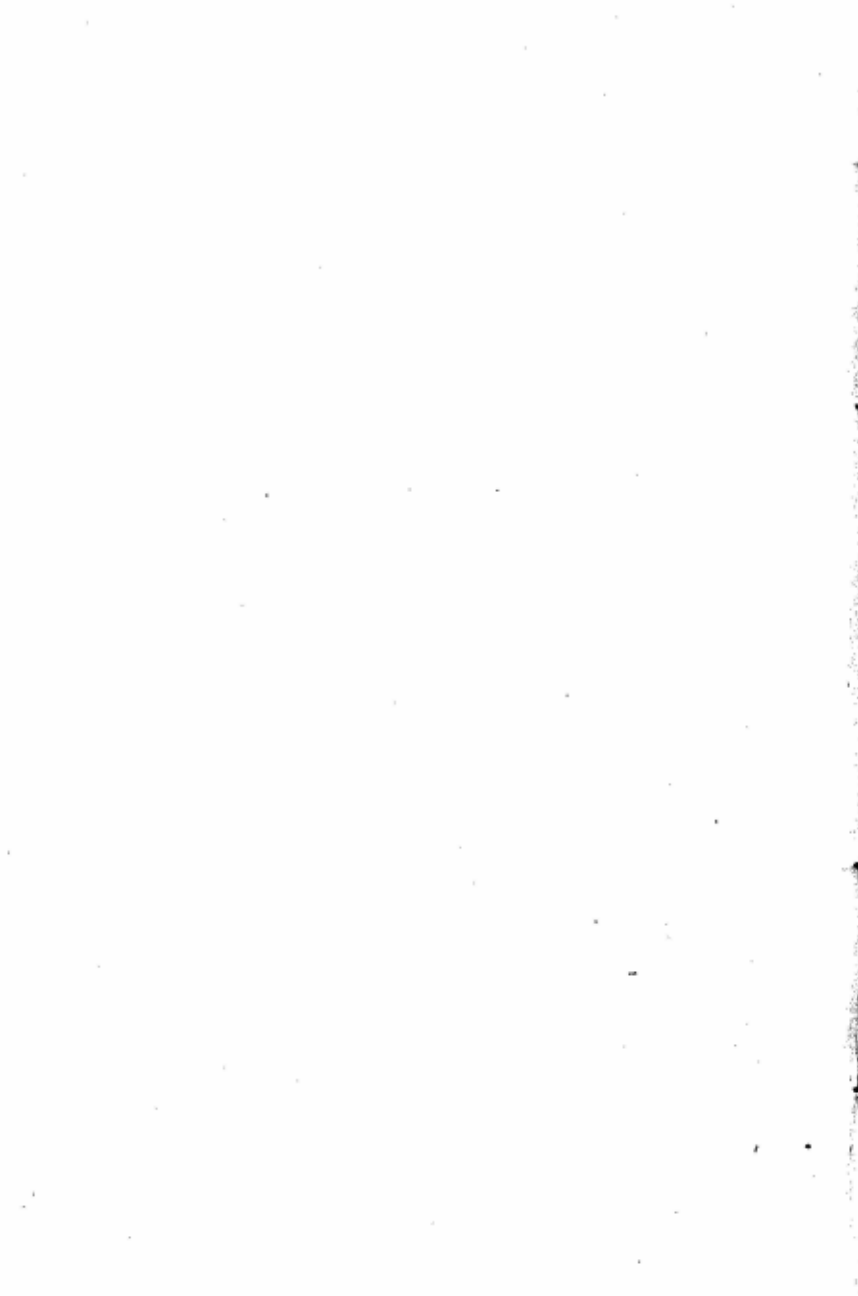


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGES
Scheme of Transliteration	xi
Abbreviations	xii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
CHAPTER I	
Prehistoric Civilizations	1—6
CHAPTER II—(C. 2000 B.C.—C. 800 B.C.)	
Vedic Period	7—33
CHAPTER III—(C. 800 B.C.—C. 325 B.C.)	
Section 1—Sūtra Period	34—57
Section 2—Early Buddhist and Jain Works	58—86
CHAPTER IV—(C. 325 B.C.—C. 75 A.D.)	
Section 1—Maurya and Sunga Period	87—101
Section 2—The Epics and the Manusmṛti	102—131
CHAPTER V—(C. 75 A.D.—C. 300 A.D.)	
The Kuṣāṇa and Śaka Śātavāhana Period	132—167
CHAPTER VI—(C. 300 A.D.—C. 750 A.D.)	
Gupta Period	168—202
CHAPTER VII—(C. 750 A.D.—C. 1200 A.D.)	
Post-Gupta Period	203—239
CHAPTER VIII	
Conclusion	240—247
APPENDIX I—Frying in Ancient India upto C. 500 A.D.	249—250
APPENDIX II—Sugar Industry in Ancient India	251—252
APPENDIX III—Betel-chewing in Ancient India	253—254
APPENDIX IV—Smoking in Ancient India	255—257
APPENDIX V—A Short Note on <i>Stbālī</i>	258—259
APPENDIX VI—Antiquity of Certain Food Articles in India	
A—Cereals	260—263
B—Pulses	263—265
C—Oil Seeds	265—266

	PAGES
D—Fruits	266—272
E—Vegetables	272—279
F—Spices	279—283
APPENDIX VII—Food Preparations	
A—Vegetarian	284—295
B—Non-vegetarian	295—297
APPENDIX VIII—Beverages	
A—Intoxicating Drinks	298—301
B—Other Beverages	301—304
APPENDIX IX—Books on Food and Drinks in India	305—306
APPENDIX X—Articles in Journals on Food and Drinks in Ancient India	307—309
APPENDIX XI—General Bibliography	310—322
APPENDIX XII—Chronology of Important Sources	323—324
INDEX	325—341

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	=	a	ट	=	t
आ	=	ā	ठ	=	ṭh
इ	=	i	ड	=	ḍ
ई	=	ī	ढ	=	ḍh
उ	=	u	ण	=	ṇ
ऊ	=	ū	त	=	t
ऋ	=	r̥	थ	=	ṭh
ए	=	e	द	=	d
ऐ	=	ai	ध	=	dh
ओ	=	o	न	=	n
औ	=	au	प	=	p
	=	m̐	फ	=	ph
:	=	h̐	ब	=	b
क्	=	k	भ	=	bh
ख्	=	kh	म्	=	m
ग्	=	g	य	=	y
घ्	=	gh	र	=	r
ङ्	=	ṅ	ल्	=	l
च्	=	c	व	=	v
छ्	=	ch	श्	=	ś
ज्	=	j	प्	=	ṣ
झ्	=	jh	स्	=	s
ञ्	=	ñ	ह	=	h

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Aca.	.. ..	Ācārāṅga Sūtra
Ait. Ar.	.. ..	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Ait. Br.	.. ..	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amar.	.. ..	Amarakośa
Angv.	.. ..	Āṅgavijjā
Ang.	.. ..	Āṅguttaranikāya
Antagaḍadasao.	.. ..	Antakṛtadaśāṅga
Ap. Dh. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra
Ap. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
Ap. Sm.	.. ..	Āpastamba Smṛti
Ap. Sr. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Arch.	.. ..	Archaeological
A.S.S.	.. ..	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
Ast. Hrd.	.. ..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Ast. Sam.	.. ..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha
Asv. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Asv. Sm.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Smṛti
Asv. Sr. Su.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Av.	.. ..	Atharvaveda
Av. Cu.	.. ..	Āvaśyaka Sūtra Cūrṇi
Barua.	.. ..	Aśoka and his Inscriptions
Baud. Gr. Sesā. Su.	.. ..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra
Baud. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Bhagavat	.. ..	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhag.	.. ..	Bhagavatī Sūtra
Bharata	.. ..	Nāṭyaśāstra
Bhavi.	.. ..	Bhavisayatta Kahā
Bhela	.. ..	Bhela Saṃhitā
Bhikkhu Pati.	.. ..	Bhikkhu Pātimokkha
Bhikkhuni Pati.	.. ..	Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha
Bra.	.. ..	Brāhmaṇa
Bṛhatk	.. ..	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra

Brhatk. Bha.	..	Brhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya
Brh. Up.	..	Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad
Caraka.	..	Caraka Saṁhitā
Chand. Up.	..	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
C.I.I.	..	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C.S.S.	..	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares
Culla.	..	Cullavagga
Dasv.	..	Daśavaikālika Sūtra
Dhamma.	..	Dhammapada
Dh. Su.	..	Dharma Sūtra
Dicy. of Eco. Pro- ducts of India		Dictionary of Economic Products of India by Watt
Digh.	..	Dīghanikāya
Div.	..	Divyāvadāna
F.D.A.I.	..	Food and Drinks in Ancient India
f.n.		footnote
Gaut. Dh. Su.	..	Gautama Dharma Sūtra
Gaut Sm.	..	Gautama Smṛti
Gobh. Gr. Su.	..	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
G.O.S.	..	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
Gr. Su. (H)	..	Gṛhya Sūtra (Hindi Translation)
Harappa.	..	Excavations at Harappa by M.S. Vats.
Hiran. Gr. Su.	..	Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
H.I.L.	..	History of Indian Literature
Harṣa	..	Harṣacarita
I.H.Q...	..	Indian Historical Quarterly
Itsing	..	I-tsing by Takakūsu
J.	..	Jātakas by Fausboll
Jaim. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
Jambu.	..	Jambudvīpa Prajñāpti
J.C. Jain	..	Ancient India as described in Jain Canon
Jaim. Up. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
Jiva.	..	Jivajivābhigama by Vātsyāyana
Kama.	..	Kāmasūtra
Kāmandaka	..	Nītiśāstra
Kāśyapa	..	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā
Kāth. Saṁ	..	Kāthaka Saṁhitā
Katy. Gr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Katṣ. Sr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Kaus. Bra.	..	..	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
Kaut.	..	..	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
Kav. Mim.	..	..	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā
Kh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Khadira Gṛhya Sūtra
Kielhorn	..	..	Mahābhāṣya
Kirat.	..	..	Kirātārjunīya
Kumar	..	..	Kumārasambhava
Kurma	..	..	Kūrma Purāṇa
Latya. Sr. Su.	..	..	Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Legge	..	..	Fa-hien's record of Buddhist kingdoms
Mackay	..	..	Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro
Majjhim	..	..	Majjhima Nikāya
Mait. Sam.	..	..	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
Malavika.	..	..	Mālavikāgnimitra
Manas.	..	..	Mānasollāsa
Manav. Gr. Su.	..	..	Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra
Manu.	..	..	Manusmṛti
Markandeya	..	..	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Marshall	..	..	Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall
Matsya.	..	..	Matsya Purāṇa
Mbh.	..	..	Mahābhārata
Adi.	..	..	Ādi Parva
Anu.	..	..	Anuśāsana Parva
Asrama	..	..	Āśramavāsi Parva
Asv.	..	..	Aśvamedha Parva
Karna.	..	..	Karṇa Parva
Maus.	..	..	Mausala Parva
Sabha.	..	..	Sabhā Parva
Salya.	..	..	Salya Parva
Santi.	..	..	Sānti Parva
Udyoga	..	..	Udyoga Parva
Van.	..	..	Vana Parva
Virat.	..	..	Virāṭa Parva
Milind.	..	..	Milindapaṇha
Mmk.	..	..	Arya Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. Ganapati Sāstri
Mrch.	..	..	Mṛcchakaṭikā
M.S.V.	..	..	Mula Sarvastivāda Vinaya, Gilgit Mss., Ed. Nalinaksa Dutt

Mv.	Mahāvagga
Naisadha.	Naiṣadha Carita
Naya.	Jñātādharma-kathāṅga
Newlight	New Light on the most Ancient East, by V.G. Gordon
Nisi.	Niśītha Sūtra
Pac.	Pācittiya
Pan.	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panc. Bra.	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
Panini.	Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panini (H)	Pāṇini Kālina Bhārata by V.S. Agrawal
Panna.	Prajñāpanā Sūtra
Par. Gr. Su.	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
Patanjali	Mahābhāṣya
Piggot	Prehistoric India by Stuart Piggot
Pinda Nir.	Pinḍa Nirukti
P.O.	Poona Orientalist
Pu.	Purāṇa
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Raghu.	Raghuvamśa
Rama.	Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki
Aran.	Aranya Kāṇḍa
Ay.	Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa
Bal.	Bāla Kāṇḍa
Kisk.	Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa
Sundara.	Sundara Kāṇḍa
Uttar.	Uttara Kāṇḍa
Yuddha.	Yuddha Kāṇḍa
Raya.	Rāyapaseṇaiya Sutta
Rv.	R̥gveda
Sabara	Sabara Bhāṣya on Jaimini
Sad. Bra.	Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
Sakuntala	Abhijñāna Sākuntalam
Sam.	Saṃhitā
Samyutta	Samyutta Nikāya
Sankh. Ar.	Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka
Sankh. Gr. Su.	Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Sankh. Sm.	Sāṅkhāyana Smṛti
Sankh. Sr. Su.	Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Sat. Bra.	..	..	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B.B.	..	..	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Sm.	..	..	Smṛti.
Sr. Su.	..	..	Śrauta Sūtra
Sukra	..	..	Sukranītisāra
Susruta.	..	..	Suśruta Saṁhitā
Suṣeṇa	..	..	Anna Pāna Vidhi
Sutra	..	..	Sūtra Kṛtāṅga Sūtra
Sutt. Np.	..	..	Suttanipāta
Tait. Bra.	..	..	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Sam.	..	..	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Tait. Up.	..	..	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
Tandula	..	..	Taṇḍula Vaikālīka Sūtra
Tha.	..	..	Sthāṇaṅga Sūtra
Thera G.	..	..	Thera Gāthā
Ti.	..	..	Tīkā (Commentary)
Uttara.	..	..	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra
Uttaracarita	..	..	Uttarārāmacarita of Bhavabhūti
Uva.	..	..	Upāsaka Daśāṅga
Vag. I	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha
Vag. II	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Vaijayanti	..	..	A lexicon by Yādavaprakāśa
Vaikh.	..	..	Vaikhāṇasa Smārta Sūtra
Vaj. Sam.	..	..	Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
Vas. Dh. Su.	..	..	Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra
Vayu	..	..	Vāyu Purāṇa
Ved. Ind.	..	..	Vedic Index
Vilasavati	..	..	Vilāsavatīkathā
Vimana.	..	..	Vimānavatthu
Vin.	..	..	Vinayapiṭaka
Vipaka.	..	..	Vipāka Sūtra
Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa
Viṣṇu. Dh. Su.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Vv.	..	..	Vimanavatthu, P.T.S. 1886
Wheeler	..	..	Indus Civilization by R.E.M. Wheeler in Cambridge History Supplement
Winternitz.	..	..	A History of Indian Literature
Yaj.	..	..	Yājñavalkya Smṛti

INTRODUCTION

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. In the early stages of civilization man was essentially a food gatherer and lived on the flesh of animals he killed and the wild roots, fruits and flowers which he gathered. But later, making use of his superior intelligence, he began to tame wild animals and raise crops. This was a great step forward in solving the ever present problem of food. With the advancement in civilization he began to improve his food both with regard to its taste and its nutritive value. Complexities of life led to complexities of food. Man began to prepare delicious dishes by intermixture of various articles of food and by cooking them in different ways. He began also to bring together articles of food from distant lands, if he could afford them.

Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly (*pāralaukika*) duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties.¹ Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened.² Food is called a

¹ अन्नान्नस्यै द्रष्टाभवति, श्रोता भवति, मन्ता भवति, बोद्धाभवति, कर्ताभवति, विज्ञाता भवति, अन्नमुपास्वेति ।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

² आहार शुद्धौ सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः, स्मृतिलम्भ सर्वदुःखानां विप्रमोक्षः ।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.3.

panacea because all creatures depend on it.¹ In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find that Svetaketu's father cut off all food to his son except water to show that all knowledge disappears when one is not permitted to take food.² These sages believed that the mental make up of a child depended considerably on the type of food which a mother took during the period of pregnancy. With that aim in view different dishes were prescribed for an expectant mother according to the type of the child the parents wished to rear.³ Similarly different food preparations were prescribed for different types of children in the Gṛhyasūtras, at the time of the first feeding of a child.⁴

The organisers of the Buddhist and the Jain churches also realised the importance of food and laid down explicit rules as to what should be eaten and what should be avoided. The Jains, for example, believed that rich food would make a man neglect his spiritual duties and, therefore, prescribed coarse food for Jain monks.⁵ The Sūtras also laid down food suitable for students, widows, hermits and people observing some vow.⁶

Even works on politics like the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the writers of the Yaśastilaka and the Mānasollāsa discuss the question of food and drinks at length with relation to health.⁷ Princes of royal blood like Bhīma and Nala were expert cooks.

¹ भन्नाद्वै प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते याः काश्च पृथिवीं धिताः, अग्राग्नेनैव जीवन्ति, अग्नेनैवपि यन्त्यन्ततः अन्नं हि भूतानां ज्येष्ठम्, तस्मात् सर्वेष्वधममुच्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² Chand. Up. VI.

³ अथ य इच्छेत् पुत्रो मे विगीतः जायेत सर्वमायुरियादिति मांसीवनं पाचयित्वा सपिप्पन्तमश्नीयातामीश्वरो जनयित वा प्रीक्षेण वार्यमेण वा।

Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.18.

⁴ भ्राजमन्नाद्य कामः। तैत्तिरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः। मृतीवनं तेजस्कामः। दधिमधुघृत-मिश्रमन्नं प्राश्यते।

Āśv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-3.

Cf. Par. Gr. Su. I. 19.7-11.

⁵ See Ch. III. Sec. 2.

⁶ Students—न मधु मां से प्राप्नीयात् क्षारलवणे च।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—अक्षारलवणं भुञ्जाना।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 55.

Hermits—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.

Observing some vow—Kātyāyana Sr. Su. II. 1.8, Bauddh Gr. Su. II.

1.10.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329-353. Mānasollāsa. III. 13.

The belief that the mental make up of the people depended considerably on the food articles which they consume is very well illustrated by a set of verses in the Bhagavadgītā. It classifies food articles into three categories. First category mentions the articles liked by people in whom the divine virtues predominate, the second mentions food liked by passionate people and the third which is liked by people of low tastes.¹ The same book lays down that a person who indulges in overeating or observes too many fasts cannot lead a life of continence. It is only proper food which leads to perfect happiness.²

The medical works clearly state that the physical and mental happiness of individuals depends on the food which they take.³ They, therefore, give a list of those articles which are conducive

¹ आयुः सत्वबलारोग्यमुखप्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।

रस्याः स्निग्धा, स्थिरा हृद्वा आहारा सात्त्विकप्रियाः । ८ ।

कट्वम्ल लवणात्युष्ण तीक्ष्णरूक्षविदाहिनः ।

आहारा राजसस्येष्टा दुःखशोकभयप्रदाः । ९ ।

यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।

उच्छिष्टमपि चाभेद्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् । १० ।

Gītā. XVII. 8-10.

² नात्यश्नतस्तु योगोस्ति न चैकान्तमनश्नतः ।

न चाति स्वप्नशीलस्य जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन । १६ ।

युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।

युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा । १७ ।

Gītā. VI. 16-17.

³ हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति, ग्रहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्व्याधीनां निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka. Su. XXV. 31.

अतश्च सर्वभूतानामाहारः स्थितिकारणम् ।

न स्वाहारादृतेऽत्यन्यत् प्राणिनां प्राणधारणम् । ४ ।

न चाहारसमं किञ्चिद् भैषज्यमुपलभ्यते ।

शक्यतेऽप्यक्षमात्रेण नरः कर्तुं निरामयः । ५ ।

तुष्टिं पुष्टिर्धृतिर्बुद्धिस्तसाहः पीरुषं बलम् । ११ ।

सौस्वर्यमोजस्तेजश्च जीवितं प्रतिभाप्रभा ।

आहारादेवजायन्ते एवमाद्यागुणानृणाम् । १२ ।

तदात्मवान् हित मितं काले भुञ्जीतषड्रसम् ।

Kāśyapa Sam., p. 249.

प्राणिनां पुनर्नृलघाहारो बलवर्णौजसां च, सपटसु रसेष्वायसः, रसाः पुनर्द्रव्याभ्यक्षिः, द्रव्यरसगुण बीर्यविपाकनिमित्ते च क्षयवृद्धौ दोषाणां साम्यं च ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.

to health and those which are unsuitable for different people.¹ According to these works the suitability of food stuffs depends on many factors—race, country, time of the year and the physical condition of the individual taking food. A food article may suit a person at one time and may not suit him at another time. The medical works, therefore, prescribe food suitable for different seasons, for the inhabitants of different regions and for the people of different temperaments.² Even in these works good health is considered a means of fulfilling the various aspects of life (*dharmā, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*).³ Even works like *Kāmasūtra*, *Smṛti* and *Purāṇas* lay down what should be eaten and what should not be eaten.⁴ There was a firm belief that a man is what he eats and purity of thought depends on purity of food. Elaborate rules were, therefore, framed to maintain the purity of food. The above facts prove it, beyond doubt, that ancient Indians attached great importance to proper diet of the people.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to survey the food habits of Indians, particularly those residing in the north, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. The first chapter deals with the habits of the people inhabiting India in the Palaeolithic and Neolithic times. The philological study of words expressing different articles of food in the Pre-Aryan languages and some archaeological finds are our only sources of information for this period. The excavations in the Indus valley region throw some light on the food habits of the people residing in that region.

The second chapter deals with the Vedic period. Our sources for this period are the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. These works are mostly religious in character but provide us with some data about the food articles used by early Aryans as most of the offerings which they made to the gods consisted of the food articles which they themselves used.

¹ Caraka. Su. V, Bhela., p. 4.

² Seasons—Caraka. Su. VI. Bhela., p. 25.

Regions—Kāśyapa. Sam. Bhojanakalpa., p. 46-52.

Bhela., p. 22. Caraka. C. 30 & 317.

³ धर्मार्थकाममोक्षानामारोग्यं मूलसाधनम् ।

Caraka. Su. I.

⁴ Kāmasūtra 191. & 1, Vāyu-Pu. 80-83, Matsya. Pu. XV. Agni Pu. 162-165, Kūrma Pu. II. 17-20. Manu. Sm. V and VI, Yaj. Sm. I. 171-180.

The third chapter has been divided into two sections. For the first section our chief sources are the *Gṛhya* and the *Śrauta Sūtras* as also the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. They present before us the conditions as they existed in the middle country during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 325 B.C. To form an idea of the food habits of the people during the period in the eastern parts of India the *Jātakas* and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works have been used. The Jain works in their present form were compiled rather late, perhaps in the 5th century A.D., but they give a true picture of this period as there was little change in the Jain traditions upto that time. An indistinct picture of the food habits of the South Indian people can also be formed by a few references in the early Sangam literature.

The fourth chapter also has been divided into two sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to present a picture of the people in the Maurya period. Our principal sources for this section are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Megasthenes and some historians who accompanied Alexander on his Indian invasion. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* shows how the sale of meat was supervised by the government officers and the preparations and sale of intoxicating drinks became a state monopoly. There was wide difference between the food of the rich and the poor. The epics and the *Manusmṛiti* also present a picture of the post Buddhist period but are of uncertain date. They are a mine of information for the social history of the period and depict the changing conditions of the time. No student of social history of ancient India can afford to ignore them. They have, therefore, been used in the second section of this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the conditions as they existed during the period C. 75 A.D. to C. 300 A.D. have been surveyed. During this period the Imperial Kuṣāṇas were the predominant power in the North West India. Our principal sources of information are the medical works of Caraka and Suśruta. These works are free from any religious or communal bias and refer to the food habits of the people in all parts of India, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are also some casual references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which throw some light on the food habits of the people.

For a study of the food habits of the people in the Gupta Age (300 A.D. to 750 A.D.) which is the period dealt with in the sixth chapter, we have a number of literary works by authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Special mention may be made of the *Āṅgavijjā* which is a mine of information for the social history of the early Gupta period. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the *Amarakośa* and two medical works of this period, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, supplement this information. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang also throw some light on the food habits of the people. But their accounts present a picture mainly of the Buddhist section of the society, because they could not come in contact with other sections. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* of this period prescribe the articles of food which should be used and which were to be avoided. They are rather conservative in outlook but the literature of the period and paintings of Ajanta reflect a happy and prosperous state of society.

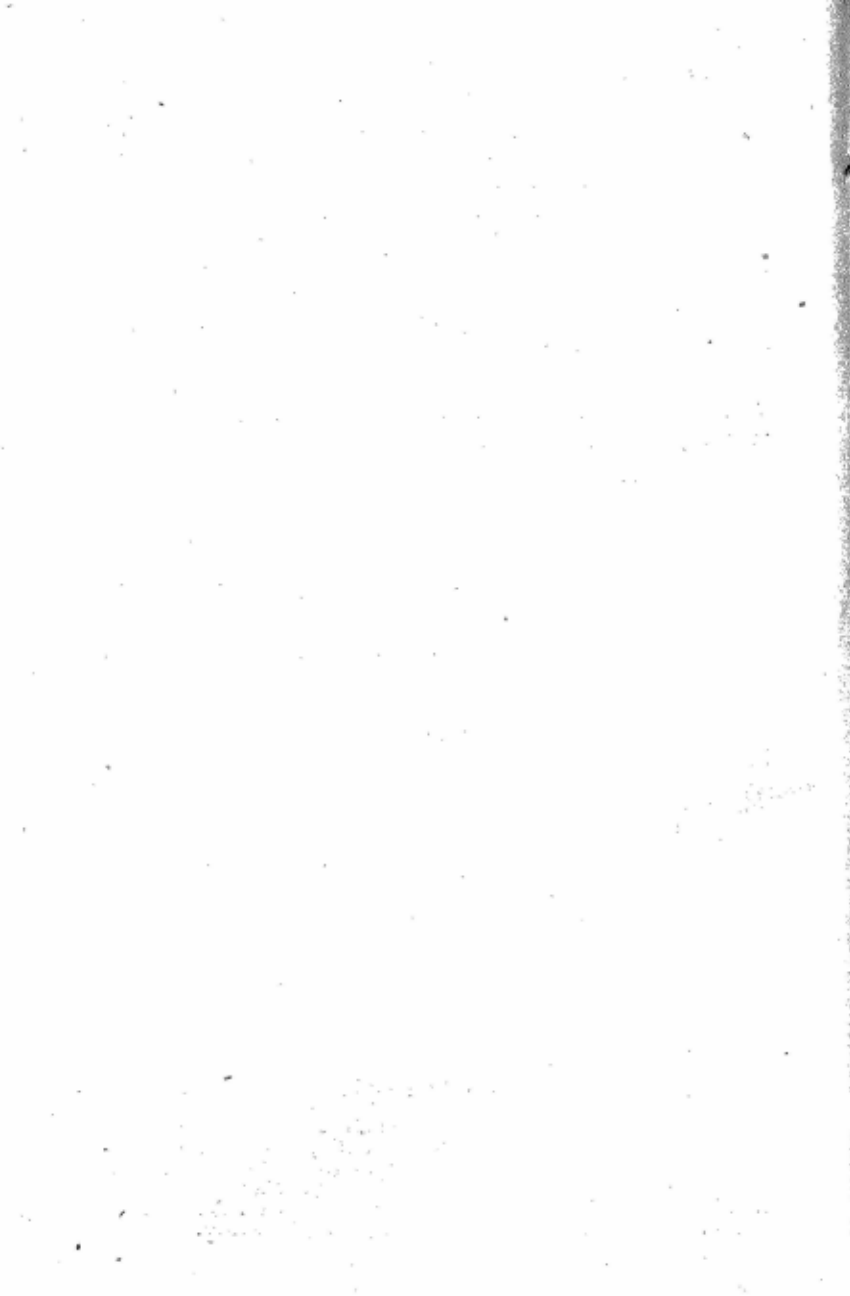
For the next chapter which deals with the conditions as they existed during the period 750—1200 we have a number of literary sources, such as the works of Rājaśekhara, Somadeva and Śrīharṣa. But the chapters on food and drinks in the *Mānasollāsa* are the basic source of information for a study of the food habits of the people during the early part of the 12th century. Some Jain works of the period give an account of feasts where only vegetarian dishes were served. The account of Alberuni has been used with caution because sometimes it was based, not on personal observation, but on a study of the religious works of the Hindus. Wherever it is in conformity with the picture presented in the contemporary literature due weight has been given to his evidence.

In dealing with the subject in each chapter a uniform scheme has been adopted. Food grains and milk products have all along occupied a prominent place in Indian dietary; hence these have been discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Next in importance come the meat preparations, which were used by a considerable section of the society along with vegetarian dishes. Then follows a short account of the spices and oils used for seasoning the various food articles. Sweets and sweetening ingredients such as honey, *guda* and sugar come next with a short description of fruits and vegetables used in each period. Towards the end

of the chapter various beverages including intoxicating drinks and water are dealt with. Then follows a short account of the development of culinary art and the cooking utensils used. At the end of each chapter an attempt has been made to make a short survey of the important rules of diet, etiquette and the favourite articles of food in different parts of the country during the period. A glance at these rules proves it beyond doubt that great stress was laid on such virtues as hospitality and great care was taken that the food consumed should be pure. Students, widows, and ascetics were advised to avoid exciting food stuffs. The mass of the people lived on simple and nourishing food. The rich, however, enjoyed dainty dishes.

The concluding chapter tries to present a rapid survey of the striking features in the food habits of ancient Indians in each period. It also tries to throw some light on the important changes* brought about in the food habits and the probable causes—religious, political, geographical or economic which brought about such changes. The chief characteristic of the Indian civilization is its spirit of synthesis. It has all along adapted itself to the new forces; and the same spirit of synthesis is discernible in the food habits of the people which have altered with the changing conditions. But the process of change has all along been gradual.

*The establishment of Muslim rule probably affected the food habits of a few rich people and some new preparations were introduced into our dietary, but the masses continued to relish traditional dishes even as late as the 17th century. This is evident from such works as *Bhojana-Kutūhala* by Raghunātha who flourished in that century. With the advent of the Europeans some foreign articles of food were included in our dietary. There is no mention of maize, chillies, and tobacco before the Portuguese entered India although some of these articles are used almost in every part of India now.



CHAPTER I

PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The earliest man every where was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of the powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The generally accepted theory is that the earliest inhabitants of India were Negroid in type.¹ Originally they appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and Baluchistan. They appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.² Their food consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers, obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of animals which they hunted.³ They did not know how to till the soil or raise the food. They probably were unaware of the art of cattle breeding.⁴ They probably spread over South India and even ventured to cross the sea and settled in the Andaman Islands. In India, the Negrito, would appear to have been either killed off by the later immigrants, notably the Proto-Australoids⁵ or absorbed by them.

The Negritos were displaced by the Proto-Australoids.⁶ They probably used a digging stick (*lakuṭa*, *laguḍa*, *liṅga*, *lauḍa*) for ploughing.⁷ The terrace cultivation of rice might have originated with these people. The common word for rice, *Chāwal*, in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kol or Muṇḍā root 'Jom' 'to eat.'⁸ The word *taṇḍula* (husked

¹ Origin and Spread of the Tamils, p. 5. Racial Elements in the Population. Dr. B. S. Guha.

² The Vedic Age, Ch. VIII, p. 146.

³ Advanced History of India. P.T.S. Iyengar, p. 9.

⁴ Indo-Aryan and Hindi—S.K. Chatterji, p. 52. Prehistoric South India Dikshitar, p. 53.

⁵ The Vedic Age, Ch. VIII, p. 146.

⁶ They are called *Nīpāda* in the Sanskrit literature.

⁷ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India—P. C. Bagchi.

⁸ The Vedic Age, p. 150.

rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain.

On the basis of philological studies of Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and Sylvan Levi¹ we can say that pumpkin (*alābu*) and brinjal (*vatingana*) were used as vegetables by these people. Their food also included such fruits as banana (*kadalī and kandali*), coconut (*Nārikela*), roseapple (*jambū*), pomegranate (*dādima*), dillenia Indica (*Kāmaranga*) and watermelon (*Kalinga*).

These people probably used turmeric (*haridrā*), ginger (*Sṛigavera*), lemonfruit (*nimbuka*) as spices and knew how to prepare mustard (*Sarṣapa*) oil and Jaggery (*guḍa*). They used betel leaves (*tāmbūla*) and betelnut (*guvāka*). They do not appear to have been cattle breeders.

The next people to reach India were probably the Dravidians.² On the basis of Dr. J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidian words³ it can be concluded that the food of the early Dravidians consisted of boiled rice (*kūra*), sour rice gruel (*kali*), *kul-māsa* (a species of *Delichos*) and *varuka* (an inferior food grain). They also used fried barley (*vātya*). Of the pulses (*śimbi*) they used *Māsa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. They also prepared round cakes (*vaṭakas*) which they fried in oil or butter. They were also acquainted with shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*). Rice seems to be the staple food grain as several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found at Adichchanalur.⁴

They used meat (*tarasa*) as also seasoned meat (*vallūra*). Fish seems to have been another important article of food as a

¹ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India by P. C. Bagchi.

² On the basis of similarities between the early cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and that of Adichanallur it seems not unlikely that the Dravidians reached India from this part of the world, and the people of the Neolithic stage were the descendents of the Proto-Mediterranean race. When the Aryans came to India they met the *Nijādas* (Proto-Australoids) and the *Dāsas* or *Daiyas* (Dravidians). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, pp. 54-61.

S. K. Chatterji—Indo-Aryan and Hindi.

S. Piggot—Prehistoric India.

³ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Research London, 1948, pp. 371-393.

⁴ A History of South India, p. 62 by K. A. Nilakanta, Sastri.

number of netsinkers have been found near the Neolithic sites.¹

They consumed two intoxicating drinks *Irā* and *Māsara*. There was found at Cuddapah some Chunam like matter in a *loṭā*. It points towards the existence of palm juice industry.² They knew the art of preparing *Gūḍa* and toddy tapping.

Of the fruits and vegetables *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Tuṇḍi* (gourd), *paṭola* (a species of cucumber), *Mulāli* (a kind of edible root) and *Puṇḍarika* (lotus flower) are mentioned. Spices must have been used in preparing curries as we know that they were exported to Assyria in the 14th century B.C.³ They used *Tulasī* (holy basil), *Ciṣṣā* (tamarind) and *pāga* (betel nut). The mention of *Tila* (sesama) and *Pinyāka* in the vocabulary leads us to the conclusion that these people extracted oil and used it in cooking.

From the archaeological finds of this period⁴ we know that pottery was used for storing water and grains and cooking. Stone mortars, woodenpestles, and stone corn grinders were used. Stone slabs and rollers were probably used in grinding spices and preparing curries.

There have also been found a number of cisterns in which water (*toya*) was stored for drinking.⁵

That the Indus valley was very fertile is clear from the fact that kiln burnt bricks were used in building houses for which unlimited timber was required as fuel.⁶ In the representation art of Harappa the animals shown are such as are found in a fertile region and not in a desert.⁷ The record of chroniclers of Alexander the Great's campaigns suggests that in the 4th century B.C. Sind was still a fertile region.⁸ The very existence of large cities presupposes a considerable agricultural population.⁹ The Russian scientists headed by Vevilov have come to the conclusion

¹ Pre-Historic South India, p. 77 by V. R. R. Diksitar.

² Pre-Historic South India, p. 75, by V. R. R. Diksitar.

³ T. R. Seshu Iyengar. Dravidian India, p. 134.

⁴ P. T. S. Iyengar—Advanced History of India.

⁵ We have not included a discussion of the food habits of the Indus valley people in the food habits of the Dravidians as we are not sure about the authors of this civilization. We shall, therefore, consider in detail the foods and drinks of the Indus Valley people before discussing the food habits of Aryans.

⁶ Stuart Piggot—Prehistoric India (1949), p. 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134. Wheeler—The Indus Civilisation, p. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab, the fold between the Hindukush and the Himālayas.¹ It was not of a wild variety but of the same type as is cultivated now-a-days in the Punjab.² It formed the principal article of food of the people inhabiting this region.

Specimens of barley have also been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro.³ We are not quite sure whether rice was also grown in the Indus Valley even though the people may not have been unfamiliar with it.⁴ At Harappa people also cultivated peas and sesamum.⁵ A species of brassica, modern *Rāī*, was also grown.⁶

The store houses with raised platforms and ventilated floors were probably used as granaries. The circular platforms were used as mortars in which grain was pounded with wooden pestles as in Modern Kashmir. Piggot thinks that the storage of grain at Harappa was part of a government agricultural policy. In the granaries there, flour was prepared by coolie labour which was housed in miserable rows of identically planned two roomed cottages.⁷

Domestic animals in the Harappa culture included the buffalo, goat and sheep.⁸ This means that milk must have formed an important article of food of these people.

The existence of a number of saddle querns with millers suggests that the grains were ground in these as no circular grinding stones have been founded.⁹ A number of rolling pins of pottery and stone have been found at Chanhudaro. This makes us conclude that the little water cakes (*Pbukkās* in Hindi) were

¹ R. K. Mookerji—Hindu Civilisation (Supplement).

² Marshall. Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler. Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall. Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler. Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

⁴ Childe—New Light, p. 209.

The value of rice grain in Ridgeway's book 'Origin of Currency and Weight standards' is .036 gms. On the basis of weights found in the Indus Valley region Sir John Marshall was inclined to come to the conclusion that rice was also grown. Marshall Vol. II, p. 59.

⁵ Vats—Harappa, p. 6. Piggot, p. 153, Wheeler, p. 62.

⁶ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 153.

⁷ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁸ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁹ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 158.

made exactly in the same way as now.¹

That Indus Valley people were meat eaters is evident from the fact that meat was included in the offerings of the dead. The numerous sling balls of clay, the copper fish hooks, the arrow heads, the flying knives constitute sufficient proof of the fact that the inhabitants depended largely for their food on birds, beasts and fish.² Their food comprised beef, mutton, pork and poultry, the flesh of gharials, turtles, and tortoises, fresh local fish from the river and dried fish brought from the sea coast. The bones or shells of all these have been found often in a half burnt state in and around the houses.³

We have sufficient evidence that the Indus valley people consumed fruits. Melon seeds were found at Harappa. A few date stones were found at Mohenjodaro. Two small falence objects from Harappa appear to represent date seeds. Tree forms on the earthenware suggest the existence of cocoanut fruit, pomegranate and banana.⁴ The shape of an ear-ring suggests the existence of lemon fruit. Curries of various kinds were doubtless a favourite food as stones for grinding the necessary spices were quite common.⁵ Existence of a number of dishes also points in the same direction. They were possibly used for keeping spices.

The water supply of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was obtained from excellently constructed wells with brick lining.⁶ Innumerable fragments of mass produced clay cups have been found near the well heads. This makes us conclude that the Indus Valley people followed the modern Hindu practice of throwing away the cups once used for drinking.⁷

Domestic vessels were generally of earthenware of various kinds and shapes. Most of the pottery was wheel made, well fired and plain.⁸ But painted ware have also been found. The designs were executed in black on a dark red slip. There

¹ At Mohenjodaro a circular bread oven 3 ft. 8. ins. in diameter and 3'6" in height was found which resembles bread ovens still widely used in Asia. Wheeler Cambridge History. Supplement., p. 37.

² Vats. Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I. Ch. IV, p. 37.

⁴ Wheeler—Cambridge History Supplement., p. 62.

⁵ Mackay—Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro.

⁶ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁷ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁸ Marshall Part I, Ch. IV, p. 27.

have been found, bowls, beakers, goblets, dishes, basins, saucers stands and jars. A number of ladles of shell have also been found. Their length, including the handles varies from 2.00" to 7.2 inches. There has also been found an oval cup of shell.¹ Vessels were also made in copper, silver or lead. Copper and bronze were generally used for tools. The flake knife of chert provided with a handle was used for cutting up food.²

These are some facts which we have been able to gather as a result of the labours of the Archaeologist. But we can imagine that many kinds of food preparations and beverages might have been enjoyed by these people as the cities of this region were international trade centres at that time. At least even from the facts that we have it is certain that the basis of our modern food habits lies in those formed by Pre-Aryan races like the Dravidians, Proto-Australoids and Negroids.

¹ Vats Harappa, p. 373.

² Marshall part I, Chap. IV, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

Food has great importance for Vedic Indians. It is from food states the Tait. Up. that the people are born. All who live on this earth have to subsist on food. Of all created things food is the most important hence it is called *Sarvaṇṣadha* or panacea.¹ Elsewhere, one is advised to worship food for it enables a man to use all his faculties.² We are even told that through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage.³ It is eaten so it is called *Anna* but it is also *Pitu* because it provides nutriment.⁴

CEREALS AND PULSES

As now, cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley.⁵ In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal

¹ अन्नाद्धं प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते याः काश्च पृथिवी ॐ श्रिताः अथोन्नेनैव जीवन्ति अथैनदपि यन्त्यन्ततः अन्न ॐ हि भूतानां ज्वेष्टम् तस्मात्सर्वोषध मुच्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² अन्नान्नस्यायं द्रष्टा भवति श्रोता भवति, गन्ता भवति, बोद्धा भवति, कर्ता भवति विज्ञाता भवति अन्नमुपास्वेति।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

³ आहारशुद्धी सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धी ध्रुवास्मृतिः। स्मृति लब्धे सर्वग्रन्थीनां विप्रमोक्षः।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.2.

⁴ Rv. I. 61.7, 132.6, 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc. Ved. Ind. I. 326, Kath. Sam. XIII 15, Vaj. Sam. II. 20, XII. 65. Tait. Sam. V. 7, 2, 4. Av. IV 6.3. Ait. Bra. I. 13. स्वादो पितो मधो पितो वयं त्वा बभूमहे। अस्माकमविता भव।

Rv. I. 187.2.

Sāyaṇa on Rv. I. 187. 1. पितुम्-पालकमन्नम्।

Other words used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature are *ida* (Rv. III. 1.23), *andhas* (Rv. I. 153.4, Vaj. Sam. III. 20), *parināsa* (Rv. I. 187.8) and *Abhāra* (Chand. Up. VII. 26.2).

⁵ Rv. I. 23.15, 117.21, 135.8, II. 5.6, 14.11. III. 42.7, V. 85.3, IX. 68, 4, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4., VI. 4. 10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. III. 20.2, IV. 3.2, Av. II. 8.3, VI 30.1. VI. 50.1., 91.1., 141.2, VIII. 7.20., IX. 1.22, 6.14, XII. 1.42.

यस्त्वामन्नं व्रीहियवौ यस्या इमाः पञ्च कुण्डवः।

भूम्यै पजन्यपत्यै नमोस्तु वर्षमेदते।

Av. XII. 1.42.

sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice.¹ It was ground and formed into cakes² which were dipped into ghee before eating.³ Sweet cakes (*apūpa*) of barley flour were also prepared.⁴ Parched barley⁵ was eaten either whole with *Soma* juice⁶ or ground into meal which was mixed with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice, water⁷

¹ दिवस्पुत्रावमत्वी ।

Av. VIII. 7.20.

सैनान्वं वा एतदोषधीनां यद्यवाः ।

Ait. Brā. VIII. 16.

² *Puroḍāśa*.

Rv. III. 28.1, 41.3, 52.2, IV. 32. 16, VI. 23. 7.

ब्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशो भवति ।

Mait. Sam. III. 10.2.

पक्वः पिष्टपिण्डः पुरोडाश इत्युच्यते ।

Sāyaṇa on Ait. Brā. I. 1.2.9.

Pakṣi. Rv. IV. 24.5, 24.7, 25.6, 25.7, VI. 29.4. According to Sāyaṇa and Mahidhara *Pakṣi* means cake but as in the Rv. IV 24.5 both *pakṣi* and *puroḍāśa* are mentioned in the same hymn it seems unlikely that the two words are synonymous. It seems likely that *pakṣi* was a liquid preparation served after *puroḍāśa*.

See K. R. Potdar—Sacrifice in the R̥gveda.

आदिद्ध नेम इन्द्रियं यजन्त आदित्यपक्तिः पुरोडाशं रिरिच्यत् ।

आदित्सोमो वि पृष्यद सुष्वीनाजिज् जुजोष वृषभं यजध्वै ।

Rv. IV. 24.5.

³ पुरोडाशावाज्येनाभिधारितौ ।

Av. X. 9.25.

⁴ See Sweets, p. 19, f.n. 7.

⁵ *Dhānāḥ* (parched barley) Rv. I. 16.2, III. 35.3, 43.4, 52.5, IV. 24.7, 29.4, VIII. 92.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 22, Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4, III. 1.10.2, Av. XVIII. 3.69, Tait. Brā. I. 5.11.2, Sat. Brā. IV. 4.3.9, XIII. 2.1.4.

⁶ कृता धाना अतवे ते हरिम्याम् ।

Rv. III. 35.7.

धानाः करम्भः परिवापः पुरोडाशः पयस्या ।

तेन पक्विराप्यते तद् यज्ञस्य पाद्वन्तत्वम् ।

Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4.

यास्ते धाना अनुकिरामि तिलमिश्राः स्वधावतीः ।

Av. XVIII. 4.43.

⁷ *Saktu*. (parched barley meal) Rv. X. 71.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. VI. 4.10.6, Kath. Sam. XV. 2, Sat. Brā. I. 6.3.16, IX. 1.1.8, XII. 9.1.5.

सक्तुमिव तिलतना पुनन्तो ।

Rv. X. 71.2.

Karambha (parched barley meal with curds, clarified butter, *Soma*-juice or water). Rv. I. 187, 10, III. 52.1, VI. 56.1, VIII. 91. 2.3.

Vaj Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.2, VI. 5.11.4, Sat. Brā. II. 5.2.14, IV. 2.4.18, Tait. Brā. I. 5.11.2, Ait. Brā. VIII. 6.

or milk.¹ A gruel was also prepared with barley.² Sometimes a mess of barley was prepared by cooking it in water or milk.³

Wheat is mentioned in all the Samhitās except the R̥gveda.⁴ We find it used in preparing groats⁵ but it may also have been used as a substitute for barley. Its introduction in the Aryan dietary may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians who as we have seen, had been using wheat as far back as 3000 B.C.⁶

We find no definite mention of rice in the R̥gveda⁷ but it

धानावन्तं करम्भिणमपूपवन्तमुक्थिनम् ।

Rv. III. 52.1., VIII. 91.3.

दधिमिश्रं सक्तुम् करम्भम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. III. 52.1.

यवपिष्टमाज्यसंयुतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Br. I. 5.11.2.

करम्भः उदमन्थः ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21.

¹ वृषभो न तिग्मशृङ्गोऽन्तर्वृषेषु रोहवत् ।

मन्थस्त इन्द्र शङ्खदेयं ते सुनोति भावयुर्विष्व स्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ।

Rv. X. 86.15.

² *Yavāṅghri*—Tait. Sam. VI. 2.5.2., Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Aran. II. 8.8., Kaus. Br. IV. 13.

जलिलयवान्वा वा जुहुयाद् गवीधुक्यवान्वा वा ।

Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2.

³ Rv. VIII. 69.14. विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरतुश्चक्रमस्त्वेधितः ।

सतं महिवान्कीरपाकमोदनं वराहमिन्द्र एमुषम् ।

Rv. VIII. 77.10.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, XIX. 22.89, XXI. 29, Sat. Br. XII. 7.1.2., 7.2.9.

ब्रीहयश्च मे यवाश्च मे प्रियङ्गवश्च मेऽणवश्च मे श्यामाकाश्च मे नीवाराश्च मे गोधूमाश्च मे मसूराश्च मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

ओषधीनां नेविष्ठतां यद्गोधूमाः ।

Sat. Br. V. 2.1.6.

⁵ Sat. Br. XII. 9.1.5.

⁶ See Chapter I, p. 4.

⁷ We come across two expressions *Dhānya* (Rv. V. 53.13.7.) and *Kṣīrapāka* (Rv. VIII. 77.10.) It is doubtful if they indicate the use of rice for *Dhānya* may merely mean grain and *Odana* though later used for boiled rice might have had only the sense of a mess in general in the R̥gvedic period, as the exact grain used is not mentioned. *Dhānya* may have meant rice as the word has been used by Śabara in that sense on Jaim. IX. 1.38.39.

is referred to frequently in the post R̥gvedic literature.¹ The Yajurveda mentions five varieties of it² of which the best was *Mahāvrihi*.³ A mess (*Odana*) was prepared with rice cooked in water⁴ or milk.⁵ Rice was taken also with curds,⁶ sesamum,⁷ ghee,⁸ *Mudga* beans⁹ and meat.¹⁰ Parched rice could be taken alone¹¹ or prepared into a drink after boiling it.¹² The well known preparation *Civḍā* had come into use and was known as *Pr̥tibhuka*.¹³ It was prepared as now, by moistening rice grains

¹ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Av. VI. 140.2. VII. 7.20. IX., 6.14., Sat. Bra. V. 5.9. Brh. Up. VI. 3.22., Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

² *Kṛṣṇāvrihi*. Tait. Sam. 1.8. 10, III. 1. 5.9. Kath. Sam. X. 6.

Suklāvrihi. Kath. Sam. XI. 5., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Jaim. Bra. I.43, Chand. Up. V. 10.6.

Āśvabānya. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

पूर्व छिन्नाः सन्तः पुनः आसु प्ररोहन्ति पुनराशुकाः इत्यर्थे प्लाशुकाः छान्दसः।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

a swift growing variety of rice.

Hāyana. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., Kath., Sam. XV. 5. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 6.

red rice growing in a year.

संवत्सरपक्वानां रस्तशालीनाम्।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6.

संवत्सरपक्वा व्रीहयः इति।

Pāṇini III. 1.48.

cf. Ved. Ind. II., p. 502.

⁸ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10.

साम्राज्यं वा एतदोपधीनां यन्महाव्रीहयः।

Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.

⁴ Av. IV. 14.7., 11. 3. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁵ *Kṣīraudana*. Av. XIII. 2. 20. Sat. Bra. II. 5. 3. 4. XI. 5. 7. 5. Brh. Up. 4. 13.

⁶ *Dadhyaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 15.

⁷ *Tilaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 17.

⁸ *Ghṛtaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

⁹ *Mudgaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹⁰ *Mamsaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8., Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 7. 5.

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

अथ य इच्छेत् पुत्रो मे पण्डितो विगीतः जायेत मांसीदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमनीयाताम् ईश्वरो जनयित वा श्रीक्षेत्रवार्पभेजवा।

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

¹¹ *Parivāpa*. Tait. Sam. III. 1. 10. 1, VI. 5. 11. 4., VII. 2. 10.4.

Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 11. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21-22. Ait. Bra. II. 24. Tait. Bra. I. 5. 11. 4.

Lājāp. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4. III. 8. 14.4. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 13. 81, 21. 42, Sat. Bra. XII. 8. 2. 7.

राजा व्रीहिप्रभवाः पुष्पवद्विकसिताः।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4.

¹² Av. V. 5. 1. *Lājamaṇḍa*.

¹³ Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 3.

with water, slightly parching them and flattening them with the strokes of a pestle. We find also the mention of a preparation of rice, milk and sesamum called *Kṛsara*.¹ The Proto-Australoids knew the use of rice. As its use by the Aryans looks post-Rg-vedic, is it not likely that its introduction in Aryan dietary, like that of wheat, may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians and the Proto-Australoids.² The excavations at Maheshwara and Nāvdātoli have shown that people in this region were using wheat, rice, *masūra*, *māṣa*, *Arabhar*, gram, pea and *kulaththa* as early as about 1200 B.C.³ while rice was a common food-grain in the Madhyadeśa about 800 B.C., as rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur.⁴

Some inferior varieties of cereals were also used.⁵ Of the pulses the most commonly used varieties were *Māṣa* (Kidneybeans),⁶

¹ Av. V. 5. Ṣaḍvīmśa Bra. V. 2.

² Rice grain is called *Tandula* and Chaff *palāya* (Av. XII. 3. 19.)

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., Kath. Sam. X. 1. XV. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 8.9.3. Av. X. 9. 26., XI. 1. 18. XII. 3. 18, 3. 29, 3. 30, Ait. Bra. I. 1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.4. 3., II. 5. 3. 4., V. 2. 3. 2, VI. 6. 1. 8. Tait. Bra. II. 8. 14. 3. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

See Chapter I, pp. 3, 4.

³ Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXI, No. 4/84. Culture of Maheshwara Navdā Toli by H. D. Sankalia, p. 332.

⁴ Ancient India Nos. X and XI (1954-55), p. 129.

⁵ *Priyangu*. (Panicum Italicum) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4. Kath. Sam. X. 11. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

Aggu. (Panicum Miliaceum) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

Śyāmāka. (Panicum frumentaceum) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, II. 3. 2, IV. 7. 4. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6, II. 11. 4. Kath. Sam. X. 2, XV. 5. Sat. Bra. X. 6. 3. 2. XII. 7. 1. 9. Kaus. Bra. IV. 12.

यथा श्वामाकः पप्रतन्न वपान्नानु विद्यते।

Av. XIX. 50. 4.

एष म आत्मा अन्तर्हृदये अणीयान्..... श्वामाकाद् वा।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

Nivāra. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Kath. Sam. XII. 4. XV. 5. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., 4. 10., Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, IV. 7. 4. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 4. 14., 3. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 3. 6. 7. *Gavidbuka* (Coix Lacryma) Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 5, IV. 3. 8, Vaj. Sam. XV. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 7. 3. 6, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 29. II. 4. 11. 13, IX. 1. 1. 8.

Am̐ba or *Nāmba*. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10. 1, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 8. *Upavāka* (Wrightia antidysenterica). It was used in preparing groats and a gruel. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30. Sat. Bra. XXII. 7. 1. 3., 7. 2. 9.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. V. 1. 8, 1, VII. 2. 10. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 7, XXXII. 7, Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2. Av. XII. 2. 53. Sat. Bra. I. 1. 1. 10. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

Mudga (*Phaseolus Mungo*)¹ and *Masūra*² (Lentils). But for some reason or other the use of *Māṣa* is indicted for sacrificial purposes.³ One of the pulse preparations was *Kulmāṣa*. It was prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *guda* and oil.⁴ It seems to have generally been the food of the poor; but the rich ate it in times of scarcity.⁵

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk⁶ formed one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. Generally boiled cows milk⁷ was taken. It

स रस मह वसन्ताय प्रायच्छद् यवं ग्रीष्मायीषधीर्वर्षाभ्यो, श्रीहीच्छरदे मापतिली हेमन्तशिशिराभ्याम् ।

Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6.

यव ग्रीष्मायीषधीर्वर्षाभ्यो श्रीहीच्छरदे मापतिली हेमन्तशिशिराभ्याम् ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2.

¹ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. It was also cooked with rice (*Sāṅkh Aran. XII.8*).

² Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. The Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 6. mentions *Mashya* which seems to be a misreading for *Masūra*. Some other pulses *Safina* (a) a kind of pea, *Khalakula* (b) *Delichos biflorus*, *Garmula* (c) (Horse-gram) and *Khalva* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) (d) are mentioned.

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 66. (b) Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. (c) Tait. Sam. II. 4. 4., Kath. Sam. X. 11. Mait. Sam. II. 2. 4. (d) Av. II. 31. 1., V. 23. 81. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

³ न माषाणामश्नीयादवशिष्या वै माषाः ।

Mait. Sam. I. 4. 10.

न माषाणामश्नीयादमेध्या वै माषाः ।

Kath. Sam. XXXII. 7.

⁴ Nirukta I. 4. Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

⁵ सहेम्यं कुल्माषान्नादन्तं विभिक्षे त अहो वाच । नेतोऽज्वे यच्च ये म इम उपनिहिता इति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

Sāṅkara on the above—

कुल्माषान् कृत्स्नान् माषान्

⁶ *Kīra*. Rv. I. 164. 7. VIII. 2. 9., IX. 67. 32., X. 87. 16.

Payas. Rv. I. 153. 4, I. 121. 5., VI. 52. 10.

Gō. Rv. I. 33. 10., 151. 8, 181. 8. IV. 27. 5., IX. 46. 4., 71. 5.

इह ब्रवीतु ईमङ्ग वेदास्य वामस्य निहितं पदं वेः ।

शीर्ष्णः क्षीरं दुहते गावो अस्य बन्नि वसता उदकं पदापुः ।

Rv. I. 164. 7.

उत्तोनो अस्य पूर्यः पतिर्दन्वीतं पातं पयस उरियायाः ।

Rv. I. 153. 4.

⁷ Rv. I. 180. 3.

अमासु चिद् दधिषे पक्वमन्तः पयः कुण्यासु हशद्रोहिणीषु ।

Rv. I. 62. 9.

अयं वाम् धर्मो अश्विना स्तोमेन परिषिच्यते ।

Rv. VIII. 9. 4.

was used in preparing a mess with grains¹ and a gruel with parched barley meal.² It was also mixed with *Soma* juice.³ Milk of buffaloes might also have been used in the R̥gvedic period.⁴ The popularity of milk in the later Vedic age is testified by the fact that the cow is called a blessing (*vara*).⁵ Fresh milk,⁶ boiled milk⁷ and cream of boiled milk⁸ were in common use. Goat's milk was also used.⁹ Beastings were not used for ten days.¹⁰ There were some people who lived on milk alone (*Payovrata*).¹¹

Milk was curdled by mixing with it a little sour milk, pieces of a creeper called *Pātikā*, bark of *Palāśa* tree or *Kwala* (Jujube).

¹ *Kṣīrandana*. See p. 10, f. n. 5.

² *Mantva*. See p. 9, f. n. 1.

³ *Gavāsira*. Rv. II. 41. 3.

Abhisri. Rv. IX. 86. 27.

⁴ The word *Mabīṣa* (a buffalo) is frequently mentioned. Rv. V. 29. 7, VIII. 12. 8, 77. 10.

सखा सख्ये अपचतूयमग्निरस्य ऋत्वा महिषा श्री शतानि ।

Rv. V. 29. 7.

⁵ वरो दक्षिणा ।

Tait. Brā. III. 12. 5. 7.

Sāyaṇa on the above—वर शब्देन गौरभिधीयते ।

तदाहुयै वै त्रिरेकस्याह्ण उपसीदन्ति दह्यं वै साध्याभ्यां दोहाभ्यां बुहे ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 5. 31.

Cows were milked three times a day—in the morning, in the forenoon and in the evening. (See above).

⁶ *Pratidhuk*. Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 3., Kath. Sam. XVII. 6, Av. IX. 4. 4. Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2. Pamc. Brā. IX. 5. 5., XVIII. 4. 2. Tait. Brā. II. 7. 2.

गोर्वे प्रतिधुक् । तस्यै शृतं तस्यै शरस्तस्यै दधि तस्यै मस्तु तस्याऽभ्रातञ्चनं तस्यै नवनीतं तस्यै शृतं तस्या आमिक्षा तस्यै वाजिनम् ।

Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁷ *Śṛta*. Sat. Brā. III. 2. 2. 10, VI. 3. 3. 2.

शृतं वै देवानां ॐ हवि नक्षितम् ।

Sat. Brā. III. 2. 2. 10.

शृतम् पक्वं पयः ।

Sāyaṇa on Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁸ *Śara*. Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

शरः पक्वक्षीरस्योपरि सारभूतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁹ Tait. Sam. IV. 1. 6. 1., V. 1. 7. 4, Sat. Brā. XIV. 1. 2. 13.

¹⁰ तस्माद् वत्सं जातं वधारात्रीर्नं बुह ति ।

Tait. Brā. II. 1. 1.

¹¹ Sat. Brā. IX. 5. 1. 1.

Kaṣ. Brā. VIII. 9.

The curds prepared by mixing *Kuvala* were not regarded as pure.¹ Curds were widely used.² Sometimes they were mixed with Soma Juice and barley meal.³ The process of churning with a churning stick was known.⁴ The mixture of curds and minute globules of butter when the latter have not been removed, was called *Prṣadājya*.⁵ We find the mention of *dadhanvat* which was probably cheese with two varieties, one with pores and the other without pores.⁶ A preparation of curds with boiled milk was very popular. The solid part of the preparation was called *āmikṣā*⁷ while the liquid part was called *Vājina*.⁸

¹ *Ātāṣana*. (a little sour milk).

यत्पूतीकैर्वा पर्णवल्कैर्वाऽऽतञ्ज्यात् सौम्यं तद्यत् क्वलं राक्षसं भ्रातनवित ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 5.

² Av. III. 12. 7. IV. 34. 6, Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 3. *Pans*. Bra. XVIII. 5. 12, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 12. Jaim. Bra. II. 348.

³ Rv. I. 127. 2, V. 51. 7, VII. 32. 4.

सुत पावने सुता इमे शुचयो यन्ति वीतये सोमासो दध्याशिरः . Rv. I. 5. 5.

Karambha (barley meal with curds) See Chapter II, p. 8.

⁴ यत्र मन्धां विबध्नते रश्मीन् यमित्वा इव ।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

Cf. Bhad. Up. VI. 3. 13.

⁵ Particles of butter produced by churning were called *Phāṇṭa*. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 8.

Whey was called *Mastu*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वदुतः संभूतं पृषदाज्यम् । पशून् तद्विचके वायव्यानरण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये ।

Rv. X. 90. 8.

पृषद्विदधिबिन्दुभिर्मिश्रमाज्यम् पृषदाज्यम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Sam. III. 2. 6. 2.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I, p. 209.

According to Sāyaṇa '*dadhanvat*' simply denotes abundance of curds.

दधन्वत इति दध्नोऽधिकत्वं द्योतनार्थः ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. VI. 48. 18.

अञ्जिद्रस्य दधन्वतः सुपूर्णस्य दधन्वतः ।

Rv. VI. 48. 18.

⁷ *Āmikṣā* or *Payasyā*.

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 5. 4, III. 3. 9. 2, VI. 2. 5. 3.

Mait. Sam. II. 1. 9. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23.

Av. X. 9, 13. Sat. Bra. I. 8. 1. 7, 8. 1. 9., III. 3. 3. 2.

Tait. Ar. II. 88. Jaim. Up. II. 438, Ch. Up. VIII. 8. 5.

पयस्यया यजेत ।

Kaus. Bra. XIX. 7.

पयस्या ग्रामिणा ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. V. 11.

⁸ Tait. Sam. I. 6. 3. 10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23, Sat. Bra. II. 4. 4. 21, III. 3. 3. 2, IX. 5. 5. 7.

उष्णे दुग्धे दध्नि क्षिप्ते घन भाग ग्रामिणा । शिष्टं वाजिनम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.

Butter was heated before use with a view to clarifying it.¹ It was mixed with Soma juice² and used in frying *apñpas*³ and for dipping cakes in.⁴ It was also used in making offerings to gods and manes. While solidified clarified butter was used by grown up men, fresh butter was used by children.⁵

MEAT DIET

Meat eating is mentioned as early as the R̥gvedic period. Fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.⁶ The ritual offerings of flesh implied that the priests would eat it. A goat is also offered to fire to be carried to forefathers.⁷ A barren cow was also killed at the time of marriage⁸ obviously for food. Fish is mentioned in the R̥gveda but it is difficult on the basis of this reference to conclude that the R̥gvedic Indians consumed fish.⁹

¹ Rv. I. 134. 6, II. 10. 4, IV. 10. 6, 18. 8, V. 12. 1.

शुचि घृतम् न तप्तमभ्यधायाः।

Rv. IV. 1. 6.

² मात्रे नु ते सुमिते इन्द्र पूर्वीं चीर्मज्मना पृथिवी काव्येन।

वराय ते घृतवन्तः सुतासः स्वाधन् भवन्तु पीतये नधूनि।

Rv. X. 29. 6.

³ Rv. X. 45. 9. See p. 19, f. n. 10 and 11.

⁴ पुरोडाशावाज्येनाभिघारिती।

Av. X. 9. 25.

⁵ *Ajya*. (melted butter)—विलीनम् सपिः। Sāyana on Ait. Bra. I. 3.

आज्यं वै देवानां सुरभि घृतं मनुष्याणामायुतं पितॄणां नवनीतं गर्भाणां दद्यन्नवनीते-
नाभ्यञ्जन्ति।

Ait. Bra. I. 3.

Ghrta. (Solidified clarified butter). घनीभूतम् सपिः। Sāyana. on Ibid.

Ajya. (Slightly melted butter). ईषद्विलीनं सपिः। Sāyana. on Ibid.

Navanita. (Fresh butter) Tait. Sam. II. 3. 10. 1, VI. 1. 1. 5. Kath. Sam. XI. 7. Mait. Sam. II. 3. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 7. 1. 3. 8. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 7. 6. Jaim. Up. Bra. The phrase नवनीतं गर्भाणाम् may probably imply that fresh butter eaten by a pregnant woman pleases the embryo in the womb as the word 'garbha' also means embryo.

⁶ उक्षान्नाय वक्षान्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसेस्तोर्नैविधेमान्नये।

Rv. VIII. 43. 11.

⁷ अजो भागस्तपसा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपसु तं ते अचिः।

यास्ते शिवास्तन्वो जातवेदस्ताभिर्वहेनम् सुकृतामुलोकम्।

Rv. X. 16. 4.

⁸ अघासु हन्यन्ते गावो।

Rv. X. 85. 13.

⁹ अस्तापिनदं मधु पर्यपश्यन् मरस्यं न दीन उदनि क्षियन्तम्।

Rv. X. 68. 8.

A slaughter house is also mentioned.¹ The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep, and buffaloes was cooked.² Probably flesh of birds was also eaten.³

In the later Vedic period it was customary to kill a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁴ Sometimes a cow that miscarried or a sterile cow was also killed.⁵ *Atithigra* also implies that cows were slain for guests.⁶ Many animals cows, sheep, goats, and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and the flesh of these sacrificed animals was eaten by the participants.⁷ Many words in the sense of fishermen are used in the Yajurveda which makes us infer that the Aryans had included fish in their diet by that time.⁸

¹ *Sasana*. (a slaughter house).

कहिं स्विस्ता त इन्द्र चेत्यासदधस्य यदभि नदोरक्ष एषत्।

मित्रश्रुवो यच्छसने न गावः पृथिव्या आपृगमुया शयन्ते।

Rv. X. 89. 14.

² Rv. V. 29. 7, 29. 8, VI. 17. 11, 17. 13, VIII. 12. 8.

यस्मिन्नश्वास ऋषभास उक्षणो वशा मेवा श्रवसुष्टास आहुताः।

Rv. X. 91. 14.

पचच्छतं महिषां इन्द्र तुभ्यम्।

Rv. VI. 17. 11.

³ श्वघ्नीव कृत्स्नुविज आमि नाना।

Rv. I. 92. 10.

⁴ Av. III. 21. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 3. 14. 7.

महोर्षं वा महाजं वा पषेत्।

Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2.

मनुष्यराज आगतेज्यस्मिन्वाहुंत्युक्षाणं वा वेहृतं वा शदन्ते।

Ait. Bra. III. 4. 15.

⁵ जयमानाभिजायते देवान्स आह्वणान् वशा।

तस्माद् ब्रह्मभ्यो देवेषा तदाहुः स्वस्य गोपनम्।

Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I. p. 15., Ait. Bra. I. 15.

⁷ Mait. Sam. III. 14, Vaj. Sam. XIII. 47-51. Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4. Panc. Bra. XXI. 14. 5, Ait. Bra. VI. 8. Sat. Bra. IX. 7. 1. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 8., Gopatha. Bra. III. 13. 18.

अथातः सवनीयस्य पशोर्विभागं व्याख्यास्यामः उद्धृत्वावदानानि हनु सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः
..... दक्षिणो पादो गृहपते व्रतप्रदस्य सव्यो पादो गृहपत्याः व्रतप्रदायाः सहैवेनयोरोष्ठ-
स्तं गृहपतिरेवानुक्षिप्यति।

Gopatha Bra. III. 18.

⁸ *Saughala*. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 16, Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Pāfin. Av. XVIII. 1.

Baindra. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

Kaivarta. Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Of the meat preparations the most common in the R̥gvedic period were flesh roasted on spits,¹ and boiled in pots. The latter was eaten with great relish.² Meat cooked with rice was much valued as food in the Upaniṣadic period.³

Some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the R̥gveda. A man cooked the entrails of a dog in extreme destitution.⁴ The cow, on account of its usefulness and the many blessings it provided was considered *aghnyā* (not to be killed).⁵ Sterile cows could perhaps, be killed a little more freely.⁶

Vegetarianism was perhaps also not unknown to the R̥gvedic Aryans. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked food was considered as good as a more solemn sacrifice.⁷ Then there is a whole hymn addressed to *Pitṛ* (nutriment) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.⁸ In the later Vedic

Purijistha. Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 27., Tait. Sam. IV. 5. 42. Mait. Sam. II. 9. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 13.

सरोम्यो धैवरमुपस्थावराभ्यो दाशं वैशन्ताभ्यो वैन्दं नृवताभ्यः शौक्लं पाराय
मार्गारमवाराय कौवर्तं तीर्थेभ्यः किरातः सानुभ्यो जम्भकं पर्वतेभ्यः किम्भूतम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

¹ Rv. I. 162. 11, Av. IX. 6. 17.

यत्ते गात्रादग्निना पच्यमानादभिचूलं निहतस्यावधावति ।

Rv. I. 162. 11.

² यन्नीक्षणं मसिचन्या उखाया या पात्राणि यूष्ण आसेचनानि ।

ऊष्मव्यापिधाना बह्वणामङ्काः सूताः परिभूयन्त्यश्वम् ।

Rv. I. 162. 13.

मांसं भिक्षा मुपासत ।

Rv. I. 162. 12.

³ *Māṃsandana*. Brhad. Up. VI. 4. 18.

See p. 10, f. n. 10.

⁴ अवर्त्या शुन आन्त्राणि पेचे ।

Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁵ Rv. I. 164. 40, IV. 1. 6, V. 83. 8, VIII. 69. 2., X. 87. 16.

दुहामदिवभ्यां पयो अज्येयं सा वर्धतां महते सौमगाय ।

Rv. I. 164. 27.

⁶ Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁷ यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये यो नमसा स्वध्वरः ।

Rv. VIII. 19. 5.

⁸ वदवामोषधीनां परिक्षमारिशामहे । वातापे पीव इद्व ।

यत्ते सोम गवाशिरो यवाशिरो भजामहे । वातापे पीव इद्व ।

करम्भ ओषधे भव पीवो वृक्क उदारधिः । वातापे पीव इद्व ।

Rv. I. 187. 8-10.

period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef, is found in almost all our works.¹ The Atharvaveda regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitrs)². Brhaspati, it is said, takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow.³ There was also an injunction against the slaughter of horses in a sacrifice.⁴ People who observed a vow, generally, abstained from meat diet⁵ and Brāhmaṇas took only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was, possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew.⁷ It was taken out from two kinds of bees, one big *Āraṅgara* and the other small *Sāragha*.⁸ The latter kind was considered better than the former.⁹ It was used to sweeten food articles such as

¹ We find some exceptions even in this period for instance Yājñavalkya relished beef diet.

तदुहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्योऽश्नाम्येवाह माऽऽसत् चेद्भवतीति ।

Sat. Bra. III. 1. 2. 21.

² क्रूरमस्या आशसनं तुष्टं पिशितमस्यते ।

शीरं यदस्याः पीयते तद् वै पितृषु किल्बिषम् ।

Av. V. 19. 5.

³ यो वेहृतं मन्यमानोऽमाच पचते वशाम्

अप्यस्य पुत्रान् पीत्राश्च याचयते बृहस्पतिः ।

Av. XII. 4. 38.

⁴ इमं मा हि ऽऽ सीरेकशफं पशुं कनिष्ठं वाजिनं वाजिनेषु

Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.

⁵ Av. VI. 70. 1. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 1. 29.

⁶ तदग्निहोत्रोच्छिद्यमथ यत्स्यात्वां यथा परीण हो निर्वपेदेवं त तस्मात्तदद्यज्यं कश्च पिबेत् द्वैना ब्राह्मणः पिबेत् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 1. 39.

तज्ज्ञते पञ्च पशवोऽभवंस्त एतज्जकांत मेध्याः अग्नेध्या अयज्ञिवास्तेषां ब्राह्मणो ना-
श्नीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 2. 39.

cf. Ait. Bra. VI. 8.

⁷ Rv. IV. 43. 5, 45. 3, X. 24. 6, Vaj. Sam. VI. 2, XXXVII. 10.

Av. VI. 69. 1., IX. 1. 22, Tait. Bra. III. 1. 2. 4, 1. 2. 13.

मध्वः पिबतं मधुपेभिरासभिरुत प्रियं मधुने युञ्जायां रयम् ।

आवर्त्तनि मधुना जिघ्र्यथस्पथो दूति बहेये मधुमन्तमश्विना ।

Rv. IV. 45. 3.

⁸ आरङ्गरेव मध्वरेये सारधेव गवि नीधीनवार ।

कीनारेव स्वेदमसिष्विदाना क्षामे योजां मूयवसात सचेये ।

Rv. X. 106. 10.

⁹ यशो ह वै मधु सारधम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 11. 3. 13.

apūpas.¹ Its use is tabooed for women² and students.³

Sugarcane (*Iksu*) is not expressly mentioned in the *R̥gveda*⁴ but is found in all the other *Saṃhitās*.⁵ Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.⁶

Apūpa was a round cake of barley meal⁷ or rice flour⁸ baked in clarified butter⁹ on slow fire.¹⁰ Honey was added to sweeten it.¹¹ It is, probably, the earliest sweet preparation known to us.

SALTS AND SPICES

Salt is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda* although the Salt range exists in the *Sapta Sindhu*, the region occupied by the *R̥gvedic* Indians. In the rest of the Vedic Literature salt is frequently

¹ अपूपवान् मधुमांश्चरेह सीदतु ।

Av. XVIII. 4. 22.

² तस्मादुत स्त्रियो मधु नाश्नन्ति पुत्राणामिदं व्रतम् चराम इति वदन्तीः ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 55. 2.

³ न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वदनीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 4. 18.

⁴ However, according to B. Majumdar *Kutara*. (Rv. I. 191. 3.) refers to sugarcane. The word is still used for sugarcane in Bengal.

शरासः कुशरासो दर्भासः सैर्पा उत । मौञ्जा अदृष्टा वैरिणाः सर्वे साकं ग्वलिप्सत ।

Rv. I. 191. 3.

⁵ Av. I. 34. 5., XII. 2. 54, 100, 277. Mait. Sam. III. 7. 9., IV. 2. 9. Vaj. Sam. XXV. 1, Tait. Sam. III. 8.

⁶ परित्वा परित्नुने क्षुणागाम विद्विषे ।

यथा मां कामिन्वसो यथा मन्नापया असः ।

Av. I. 34. 5.

⁷ यवमयमपूपं कृत्वा यत्राहवनीयमाधास्यन्भवति तन्निदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 13.

⁸ श्रीहिमयमपूपं कृत्वा यत्र गार्हपत्यमाधास्यन्भवति तन्निदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 12.

⁹ and ¹⁰ यस्ते अद्य कृणवद् भद्रशोचेऽपूपं देव घृतवन्तमग्ने ।

घृतवन्तम्—in clarified butter.

भद्रशोचे—on slow fire.

Rv. X. 45. 9.

Rv. III. 51. 1.

Sat. Bra. IV. 2. 5. 19.

Also please see Appendix I.

¹¹ 'See f. n. (1) above'.

mentioned.¹ Some spices such as brassica (*baja*),² *Jambila* (*citrus aurantium*)³, turmeric⁴, and long pepper⁵ were also probably used in the preparation of food articles.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesame was used as a food article.⁶ The two common preparations were a gruel⁷ and a porridge.⁸ A wild variety of *Sesamum* (*Jartila*) was also used in preparing a porridge.⁹ Sesamum oil is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* but is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ Mustard is mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* and *Brāhmaṇas*.¹¹ The use of oil was perhaps commoner with the non-Aryans than the Aryans.¹²

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Flowering and fruit bearing plants are mentioned in the

¹ Av. VII. 76. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 2. 1. 16. Jaim Up. III. 17. 3. Brh. Up. 4. 12. Chand. Up. IV. 17. 7.

लवणेन सुवर्णं सन्दध्यात् ।

Gopatha Bra. I. 14.

स यथा सैन्धव खिल्य उदके प्रास्त ।

Brh. Up. II. 4. 12.

² *Baja* (brassica). Av. VIII. C. 3. VIII. 6. 6.

³ *Jambila*. Mait. Sam. III. 15. 3.

Kath. Sam. V. 2. 1. Vaj. Sam. XV. 3.

⁴ *Haridra*. (Long turmeric) Av. XII. 24. 2.

⁵ *Pippali*. (*Epuloides*, Long Pepper) Av. VI. 109.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2., Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2., Av. IV. 7. 3, II. 8. 3, VI. 140. 2, XVIII. 3. 69, 4. 32.

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

Stalks of Sesame (*Tilapiṇja*) were used as fuel (Av. XII. 2. 34).

⁷ Av. IV. 7. 3.

⁸ Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁹ Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2.

उभयम्भेतदन्नं यज्जतिला यच्च ग्राम्यं यच्चारण्यम्

यवह तिलस्तेन ग्राम्यं यदङ्गुष्ठे पच्यन्ते तेनारण्यम् ।

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

¹⁰ यः कुमारी पिङ्गलिका वसन्तं पीवरी लभेत् । तैलकुण्डमिमाङ्गुष्ठं रोदन्तं शुद्धमुदरेत् ।

Av. XX. 136. 16.

¹¹ Śaṅg. Br. V. 2.

एष म आत्मान्तर्हृदयेऽजीयान् श्रीहिर्वा यवाद् वा सर्वपाद्मास्यामाकाढा स्यामाक-
तण्डुलाद् वा लोकैभ्यः ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

¹² अग्ने तैलस्य प्राधान्यं यातुधानान् विलापय ।

Av. I. 7. 2.

Rgveda.¹ It is obvious also that fruits were a valuable part of Arya dietary² but we come across specific names only in the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Three varieties of jujube,³ *bilva* (aegle marmelos)⁴ and *Kharjūra* (*Phoenix silvestris*)⁵ are mentioned in the Yajurveda. Mango is for the first time mentioned in the Sat. Bra.⁶ while *Āmalaka* (myrobalan fruit) in the Jaim. Up. Bra.⁷ Jujube was also eaten by the people of Maheshwar Navdātoli about 1200 B.C.⁸

¹ Rv. VI. 49. 14. VII 34. 23, 35. 57, X. 97. 1. Av. XIX. 3. 1.

श्रोषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवी रूपमुवे। सनेयमश्वं गां वास आत्मानं तव पूष।

Rv. X. 97. 4.

याः फलिनीर्या अफला अपुष्पा याश्च पुष्पिणीः। बृहस्पतिप्रसूतास्तानो मुञ्चन्त्वंहसः।

Rv. X. 97. 15.

तन्नो रायः पर्वतास्तत्र आपस्तद्रातिवाच श्रोषधीरत शोः।

वनस्पतिभिः पृथिवी सज्जोषा उभे रोदसी परिपासतो नः।

Rv. VII. 34. 23.

² Rv. X. 97. 5.

मुञ्चन्तु मां शपध्यादधो वरुण्यादुत। अथो यमस्य पटवीशात् सर्वस्मादेव किल्बि-
पात्।

Rv. X. 97. 16.

न वा अरण्यानिर्हन्त्यन्यश्चेन्नाभिगच्छति। स्वादोः फलस्य जग्ध्वाय यथाकामं निपद्यते।

Rv. X. 146. 5.

Also see X. 146. 6. III. 45. 4.

³ Jujube fruit was also used in preparing groats.

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 22. XII. 9. 1. 5.

Badara. (a large sized Jujube)—Kath. Sam. XX. 20, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30., Tait. Br. I. 8. 5. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10, XII. 7. 1. 3, 7. 2. 9. 9. 1. 8. Jaim. Br. II. 156. 5.

Kwala. (an average sized soft Jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22, 89, XXI. 29. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10.

Karkandhu (a small sized jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 10. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 23. XXI. 32.

⁴ Av. XX. 136. 13, Mait. Sam. III. 9. 5.

Ait. Bra. II. 1. Sat. Bra. XIII. 4. 4. 8.

⁵ Kath. Sam. XI. 10, XXXVI. 71.

यतीनामद्यमानानां ॐ शीर्षाणि चराऽपतन्ते खर्जूरा अभवन्।

Tait. Sam. II. 4. 9. 2.

⁶ यथाअम्बोदुम्बरश्चापिप्लम्बा वन्धनात् प्रमुच्येतेवमे वायु ॐ शारीर आत्मैर्म्योऽ-
ङ्गैः सम्प्रमुच्य पुनः प्रतिन्यायप्रतिबोन्वाद्रवति प्राणायैव।

Sat. Bra. XIV. 7. 1. 41.

⁷ वं तद् यात याम्नाऽमलकाण्डे नामातेजति हाद्ऽजांस तद् अवक्षयत्।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 38. 6.

⁸ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

Also see Chand. Up. VII. 3. 1.

Of the vegetables cucumber (*Urvāruka*)¹ and lotus stalks (*bisa*)² were known to the Rgvedic Indians. The latter was probably in common use with the edible roots of lotus (*Sāluka*)³ and *alāhu* (bottle gourd)⁴. *Sapbaka* (*Trapabispinosa*)⁵ also seems to have been used as a food article. People of Maheshwar Navdātoli used beans about 1200 B.C.⁶

BEVERAGES

Of the beverages of the Vedic Indian—*Soma* Juice was the most important.⁷ The plant was brought from some mountains especially Maujavanta.⁸ The process of extracting the juice is described in detail. The stalks were crushed between two stones.⁹

¹ Av. VI. 14. 2, Mait. Sam. I. 10. 4, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 62, Vaj. Sam. III. 60.
उर्वारुकिव बन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ।

Rv. VII. 59. 12.

² इयं शुष्मेभिर्विसृता इव ।

Rv. VI. 61. 2.

Also see Av. IV. 34. 5, Ait. Bra. V. 30, Ait. Ār. III. 2. 4. Saṅkh. Ār. XI. 4.

³ Av. IV. 35. 5.

⁴ Av. VIII. 10. 29 and 30.

⁵ Av. IV. 39. 5.

Some other plants are mentioned :—

Mulāli (*Trapabispinosa*)—Av. IV. 34. 5.

Anaka (*Blyseca Clandra*—an aquatic plant)

Av. IV. 37. 8, VIII. 7. 9, 37. 38. 10. Tait. Sam. IV. 6. 1. 1. V. 4. 2.

Kapittha (*Ferronia Limonia*) Av. IV. 2. 8.

Āṇḍikā (*Nymphae alba*) Av. IV. 35. 5, IV. 17. 16.

Madugha (a sweet herb) Av. I. 34. 4. VI. 122. 3.

Alvabālā Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 17, III. 6. 3. 10.

Madbhūka (*Bassia Latifolia*) Av. I. 34. 5.

Uṣṇā (Sat. Bra. III. 4. 3. 13. and IV. 2. 5. 15).

Prapatha (Panc. Bra. VIII. 4. 1.) and *Ādāra* (Kath. Sam. XXIV. 3.,
(Sat. Bra. IV. 5. 10. 4.) were used as substitutes for Soma.

⁶ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

⁷ नित्यस्तोत्रो वनस्पतिर्धोनामन्तः सर्वदृघः । हिन्वानो मानुषा युगा ।

Rv. IX. 12. 7.

The exact identity of the Soma plant is controversial. Dr. J. M. Unwala has on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references identified it with 'Ephedra.'

See Vallabha Vidyā Nagar Research Bulletin. Vol. I. Issue 2, pp. 7-10. Also see appendix VIII B on beverages.

⁸ Rv. I. 93. 6, III. 48. 2, V. 36. 2, 43. 4, 85. 2.

परि सुवानो गिरिष्ठाः पवित्रे सोमा प्रक्ष्वाः । मदेयु सर्वथा अस्ति ।

Rv. IX. 18. 1.

⁹ Rv. 65. 25, 66. 29, 70. 7.

प्रावा यत्र वदति कारुण्यस्तस्येदिन्द्रो अभिपित्वेषु रण्यति ।

Rv. I. 83. 6.

They were sometimes pounded in a mortar with a pestle.¹ Before crushing, the plant was washed in water.² In order that it may yield copious juice, water was sprinkled on the stalks.³ It was pounded with both hands.⁴ Women sang songs when they squeezed the juice of the plant with their fingers.⁵

Soma juice was pressed in very large quantities⁶ and was poured upon a strainer for removing the impurities.⁷ It was stored in jars or wooden tubs and was either brown, ruddy or tawny.⁸ It was mixed with curds, clarified butter or milk to improve its taste.⁹ Other preparations with which it was mixed were *Karambha*, *dhānāḥ*, *apūṣa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey.¹⁰

¹ यत्र मन्थां विबध्नते रश्मीन्यमित वा इव । उलूखल सुतानामवेदिन्द्र जल्मुतः ।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

अथो दन्द्राय पातवे सूनु सोममुलूखल ।

Rv. I. 28. 6.

² यदद्विः परिचिच्यसे मूज्यमानो गभस्त्वोः ।

cf. Rv. IX. 16. 2.

Rv. IX. 65. 6.

³ Rv. IX. 74. 9., Av. IX. 6. 16.

⁴ Rv. IX. 72. 5.

⁵ समुत्वा धीमिरस्वरन् हिन्वतीः सप्त जामयः । विप्रमाजा विवस्वतः ।

Rv. IX. 66. 8.

⁶ इन्द्रं सोमासः प्रदिवि सुतासः समृद्धं न खवत आविशन्ति ।

Rv. III. 46. 4.

⁷ अन्तः पवित्रे आहितः ।

Rv. IX. 12. 5.

⁸ *Kalaseṣu* (Vessels) Rv. IX. 12. 5.

Droṇa (Wooden tubs) Rv. IX. 15. 7, 33. 2.

Babhrū (brown) Rv. IX. 33. 2, 63. 4, 63. 6,

Hari (tawny) Rv. IX. 3. 9.

Aruṇa (ruddy) Rv. IX. 40. 2, 45. 3.

⁹ *Dadhyāstira* Rv. IX. 23. 3, 101. 12.

Ghṛtaṃ Vasanāḥ Rv. IX. 82. 2.

Paśikṛtāḥ gobhiḥ Rv. IX. 61. 13, 46. 4, 64. 28.

Svādūkarmagobhiḥ Rv. VIII. 2. 3.

¹⁰ इमं जम्भसुतं पिब धानावन्तं करम्भिगमपूपवन्तमुन्विषन् ।

Rv. VIII. 91. 2.

पूषव्यते ते चक्रुमा करम्भं हरिवते हवैश्वाय धानाः ।

अपूपमद्वि सगणो मण्ड्विः सोमं पिब वृत्रहा शूर विद्वान् ।

Rv. III. 52. 7.

त सोम आमिश्रतमः सुतोभूद् यस्मिन् पक्तिः पच्यते सन्तिधानाः ।

Rv. VI. 29. 4.

यस्य मा परुषाः शतमुद्धर्यन्त्युक्षणः अश्वमेधस्य दानाः सोमा इव आशिरः ।

Rv. V. 27. 5.

आशिरः सक्तवः पयोधाना इति सोम मिश्राणि त्रीणि ।

Mādhava on Rv. V. 27. 5.

According to Vedic descriptions Soma juice was sweet and delicious in taste.¹ It was believed that it inspired confidence, courage, faith and self-trust and bestowed powers of eloquence and immortality.² It was called pure, purifying,³ and the most heavenly nectar.⁴ A strong mixture of Soma Juice, called *Pañcadaśa*, is also mentioned.⁵

Another beverage of the Vedic period was *Surā* (intoxicating liquor) which was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy

अद्भिः सोमं पपृचानस्य ते रसोज्ज्वो वारं विपवमानं धावति ।

स मृज्यमानः कविभिर्मदितम् स्वदस्वेन्द्राय पवमानं पीतवे ।

Rv. IX. 74. 9.

पावमानीर्यो अध्येत्युपिभिः सम्भृतं रसं ।

तस्मै सरस्वती दुहे क्षीरं सपिमं घृदकम् ।

Rv. IX. 67. 32.

¹ स्वादुष्किलायं मधुमां उतायं तीव्रः किलायं रसवां उतायम्

Rv. VI. 47. 1.

मधु (Sweet), स्वादु (delicious)

² अयं मे पीत उदियति वाचमयं मनीषामुशतीमजीगः ।

अयं पलुर्वीरमिमीत क्षीरो न याभ्यो भुवनं कञ्चनारे ।

Rv. VI. 47. 3.

सोमः पवते जनिता मतीनां जनिता दिवो जनिता पृथिव्याः ।

जनिताग्नेर्जनिता सूर्यस्य जनितेन्द्रस्य जनितोत विष्णोः ।

Rv. IX. 96. 5.

यो न द्रन्दुः पितरो हृत्सु पीतोऽमृत्यो मर्त्या आविवेश ।

तस्मै सोमाय हविषा विधेम मृडीके अस्य सुमती स्याम ।

Rv. VIII. 48. 12.

³ शुचि (pure) पावक (purifying)

Rv. IX. 24. 7.

⁴ दिवः पीयूषं पूर्यम् ।

Rv. IX. 110. 8.

The above qualities of Somajuce show that it was a drink very different from *Surā*. When Soma plant could not be had some other plants such as *Pātikā* and *Arjuna* were used as its substitutes. Also see Appendix VIII B.

यदि सोमं न विन्देयुः पूतीकानभिपुण्युर्वेदि न पूतीकानज्जुनानि ।

Tāpdyā Bra. IX. 5. 3.

⁵ पचानिते तीव्रं मुतं पञ्चदशं निषिञ्चम् ।

Rv. X. 27. 2.

Pānta might have been some other beverage but is identified with Soma by *Sāyana*. It is frequently mentioned Rv. I. 122. 1, I. 155. 1, VIII. 92. 1, X. 88. 1.

प्र वः पान्तं रघुमन्यवोज्ज्वो यज्ञं यद्राय मीहलुषे भरध्वम् ।

Rv. I. 122. 1.

after distillation.¹ But while the use of Soma Juice was highly commended that of *Surā* was condemned. Drinking *Surā* gave rise to broils in the assembly.² Its popularity in the later Vedic period is, however, evident from a verse in the Atharvaveda where it is mentioned as a reward for the performance of sacrifices.³ The praise of *Surā* in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the placing of *Surā* vessel in the hands of a king⁴ makes us conclude that the Kṣatriyas were generally in the habit of drinking *Surā*.

But the evil effects of drinking were known. It is regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the Vedas⁵ and is classed with anger, senselessness and dicing.⁶ Realising its evil effects the Brāhmaṇas avoided drinking⁷ and good kings like Aśvapati proudly declared that there was no drunkard in their kingdoms.⁸

¹ Rv. VIII. 2. 12., I. 116. 7., X. 131. 4, 131. 5.

Rv. VII. 86. 6. VIII. 21. 14., Mait. Sam. I. 2. 6. II. 4. 2. IV. 2. 1. Tait. Sam. I. 3. 3. 2. Sat. Bra. XII. 7. 3. 8, I. 6. 3. 2, Chand. Up. V. 10. 9.

² हस्तु पीतासो युष्यन्ते दुर्मदासो न सुरायाम् । ऊर्ध्वं नग्ना ज्वरन्ते

Rv. VIII. 2. 12.

एतद्वै देवानां परमघ्नं यत्सोमः एतन्मनुष्याणां यत्सुरा ।

Tait. Bra. I. 3. 3. 2-3.

³ घृतहृदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना . . . उपत्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः सप्तन्ताः ।

Av. IV. 34. 6.

⁴ अथ यत्सुरा भवति क्षत्र रूपं तदथो अन्नस्य रसः क्षत्र रूपेण वास्मिस्तद्वात्यथो अन्नस्य रसम् । अथास्मै सुराकंसं हस्त आदधाति ।

Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.

⁵ सप्त मर्यादाः कथयस्तत्सुस्तासामेकामिदम्यद्वुरोगात् ।

आयोहं स्कम्भ उपमस्य नीले पथां विसर्गे धरजेषु तस्थौ ।

Rv. X. 5. 6.

स्तेयं गुरुतल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं

दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातकेऽनृतीयम् ।

Nirukta VI. 27.

⁶ न स्त्वोदको वरुण ध्रुतिः सा सुरा मन्युर्विभीदको अचित्तिः ।

Rv. VII. 86. 6.

⁷ तस्माज्ज्यायांश्च कनीयांश्च स्नुषा इवसुरश्च सुरापीत्वा सालपत आस्ते । पाप्मा नैमस्यं तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति ।

Kath. Sam. XIII. 2.

⁸ उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्वो न मक्षपो भगवन्त इति ।

Chand. Up. V. 11. 5.

Another common intoxicating drink was *parisruta*.¹ It was prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses,² while *Kilāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.³ The preparations of another drink called *Māsara* is described in the Yajurveda.⁴ It was prepared with a mixture of mess of rice and some spices which was allowed to ferment for three days.⁵ This beverage was purified with the help of a filter.⁶

Water is described as nectar (*amṛta*) and a remedy (*bheṣaja*).⁷ Main sources of water were rivers, wells, springs. Rain water was also used for drinking.⁸

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 15. XX. 39, XXI. 29, Mait. Sam. III. 11.2. Av. III. 12. 7, XX. 127. 9. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

स वा एष परिस्तुतो यज्ञस्तायतेऽग्राद्या वै ब्राह्मणेन परिस्तुत सज्जत दनाद्यज्जायतेस्मा ।
Sat. Bra. XII. 9. 1. 1.

² पुष्पेभ्योनिःसृतं सारम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. II. 34.

कुलायन् कृष्णन् कौरव्यः पतिर्वदति जायया ।

कतरत् त आह्राणि दधि मन्थां परिस्तुतम् ।

Av. XX. 127. 8-9.

सुरासाधनाय पर्याप्त परिपाकैः शण्यैर्निष्पन्नो रसः परिस्तुदित्युच्यते ।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

³ Av. IV. 11. 10. 26. 6. 27. 5. VI. 69. 1. X. 6. 25. XII. 1. 39. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 12, 13, Mait. Sam. II. 7. 12, III. 11. 3. 4.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14, 82; Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. 9.
Tait. Bra. 6. 11. 3. 6. 11. 4.

⁵ ब्रीहिं श्यामाकौदलाचामयोः शण्यं तोवम लाज नग्नद्वु चूर्णैः संसर्गो मासरम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

मासरम् तत्र मिश्रितम् सूक्ष्मं यव चूर्णम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 11. 3.

According to Sāyaṇa *Māsara* means powdered barley meal mixed with butter milk. The interpretation of Sāyaṇa does not seem to be correct in view of the method of preparation described in the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra. XIX. 1. 20-22.

⁶ See Ch. III, p. 44.

⁷ Rv. X. 101. 7. Kauṣṭaki Bra. XII. 1. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3. Bṛh. Up. VII. 10. 1.

अप्स्वन्तरमृतमप्सु भेषजम् । अपामृतं प्रशस्तिभिरश्वा भवथ वाजिनो गावो भवथ वाजिनीः ।

Av. I. 4. 4.

अमृताश्वापः ।

Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3.

⁸ शंसं आपो हंसवतीः, शमुते सन्तूत्स्याः । शंसं सनिष्पद्या आपः शमुते सन्तु वध्याः ।

शंसं आपोघन्वन्त्याः शंसं सन्वन्तूपाः । शंसं सनिष्पद्या आपः शं याः कुम्भेभिराभूताः ।

अनञ्जयः खनमाना विप्रागम्भीरे अपसः । भिषग्भ्यो भिषक्तराः आपो अञ्छा वदामसि ।

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking¹ was well developed as early as the R̥gvedic period. The processes of cleaning food grains with a sieve and grinding them were known.² Preparation of such food articles as *Kṛsara* and *Prithuka* shows a very high stage of development. Meat was not only roasted and cooked in the form of a soup but also cooked with rice.

There were cooks and servers of food.³ Many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay, wood and stone while others were made of metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the R̥gveda.⁵ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food

अपामह दिव्यानामपां स्रोतस्यानाम्। अपामह प्रणे जनेववा भवय वाजिनः।
ता अपः शिवा अपोज्यधमं करणीरपः। ययैव तृप्यते मयस्तास्त आदत्त भेषजीः।

Av. XIX. 2. 1-5.

Seventeen kinds of waters are mentioned in the Sat. Bra.

ता वा एताः सप्तदशापः सम्भरति।

Sat. Bra. V. 3. 4. 22.

¹ Cooked food is called *pakva* or *Parata*.

Av. VI. 119. 2. XII. 3. 55. Sat. Bra. I. 5. 1. 26. 6. 1. 9., Rv. I. 61. 7. X. 116. 8.

² सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो।

Rv. X. 71. 2.

उपलप्रक्षिणी नना।

Rv. IX. 112. 3.

According to the authors of the Vedic Index Vol. I., p. 94, the corn in this period was ground in mortars with pestles and '*upala*' simply means a mortar. Dr. H. D. Sankalia thinks that the people of Maheshvar Navda Toli region used two pieces of stone for grinding corn such as wheat and gram and the circular stones were used by Indians about the beginning of the Christian era as a result of their contact with the Greeks and the Romans. See Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. No. 4/84, p. 332.

³ *Parivestārah* (servers) Av. IX. 6. 5. 1.

Paktṛ (cooks) Av. XI. 3. 17.

Srapayitr (cooks) Sat. Bra. I. 2. 2. 14.

⁴ See *Appendix A* (pp. 32-33).

⁵ Rv. I. 51. 6, I. 112. 14. VI. 47. 22, VII. 3. 5.

अहं पुरो मन्वसानो व्यैरं नव सार्कं नवतीः शम्बरस्य
शततमं वेद्यं सर्वताता दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावम्।

Rv. IV. 26. 3.

without feeding a hungry person.¹ In the Atharvaveda feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt², is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.³ The Brāhmaṇas consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself⁴ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.⁵

Next to hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food, as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.⁶ Practice of washing the mouth before taking meals and after meals was common.⁷ Leavings of food were not taken except in a dire calamity.⁸ Friends could, however, even partake of drinks from the same cup.⁹ The food cooked by a woman in her

¹ य आधाय चकमानाय पित्वोऽन्नवान्त्सन् रक्तायोपजग्मुये ।

स्थिरं मनः कृणुते सेवते पुरोतोचित्स मडितारं न विन्दते ।

Rv. X. 117. 2.

मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य ।

नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाधोभवति केवलादी ।

Rv. X. 117. 6.

² स य एवं विद्वान् द्विषन्नानीयाद् द्विषतोऽन्नमदनीयाश्च मीमांसितस्य न मीमांसनस्य ।

Av. IX. 6. 24.

³ यत् पुरा परिवेयात् खादमाहुरन्ति पुरोडाषावेव तौ ।

यदशनं कृतं ह्वयन्ति हविष्कृतमेव तद्वधयन्ति ।

Av. IX. 6. 13.

Also see Śat Brā. VII. 3. 2. 1, Ait. Ar. I. 1. 1. Tait. Up. I. 2. 2, III. 10.

⁴ अथ यदातिथ्येन यजन्ते विष्णुमेव देवतां यजन्ते ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 3. 4.

⁵ Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2, See Chap. II, p. 16, f. n. 4.

⁶ आहारशुद्धौ सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः स्मृतिलभ्ये सर्वग्रन्थीनां विप्रमोक्षः

Chand. Up. VII. 26. 2.

⁷ तद्विद्वान् स श्रोत्रिया अशिष्यन्त आचामन्त्यशित्वा चामल्येतमेव तदनग्नं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते ।

Brhad. Up. VI. 1. 14.

सहो वाच किं मे वासो भविष्यतीत्याप इति होचुस्तस्माद्वा एतदशिष्यन्तः पुरस्ताच्छो-
परिष्ठाच्छुद्धिः परिवर्धति सम्भुकोह वासो भवत्य नग्नोह भवति ।

Chand. Up. V. 2. 2.

⁸ न स्थितेऽप्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमान् खादन्निति हो वाच कामो न उद-
पान मिति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 4.

⁹ पीत्वा यं रातिं मन्येत तस्मा एनां प्रयच्छेत्तद्धि मित्रस्य रूपं मित्र एवैनां तदन्ततः
तिष्ठापयति तथाग्रहि मित्रे प्रसिततिष्ठति

Ait. Bra. VIII. 8.

courses was considered impure.¹ Milk of a cow was not used for ten days after she had calved.² Even the entrails of a dog, however, could be taken in a dire necessity.³

In the Brāhmaṇas we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste. People refuse to dine with Kavaṣa because he was the son of a maid servant.⁴ A Kṣatriya loses his caste by dining with members of other castes.⁵ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa even a Sūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice⁶ but the Kāthaka Saṁhitā does not allow a Sūdra to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.⁷ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.⁸ Vedic Indians used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.⁹ They also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripened corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁰

Moderation in food is advised from very early times. It is said that if a person took his food only twice a day he would be so wise, and intelligent that his sayings would never fail.¹¹

¹ नास्या श्रन्नमद्यात् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 5-6.

तदाहुर्न आहिताग्निर्वदि सूतकान्नं प्राशनीयात्का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 9.

² तस्माद् वत्सजातं दश रात्रीर्न दुहन्ति ।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1, III. 1. 3.

³ See Chapt. II. (p. 17, f. n. 4), Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁴ Kaus. Bra. XII. 3.

⁵ Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

⁶ चत्वारो वै वर्णाः । ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो शूद्रो न हृतेषामेकश्चन भवति यः सोमं वमति स यद्वैतेषामेकश्चित् स्यात् स्याद्वैव प्रायश्चित्तिः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 49.

⁷ दोग्धव्यमेवेति न शूद्रो दुह्यादसतो वा ।

Kath. Sam. XXXI. 2.

⁸ Panca. Bra. XVII. 1. 9. XII. 3.

⁹ स्वादो पितो मधो पितो वयं त्वा ववृमहे । अस्माकमविताभव ।

Rv. I. 187. 2.

¹⁰ तदाहुर्न आहितग्निं रात्रयणेनानिष्ट्वा नवान्नं प्राशनीयात् का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

¹¹ न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेद्यति तस्मादु सायं प्रातराशयेव स्यात् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

तस्माद् द्वि रक्षो मनुष्येभ्य उपह्नियते ।

Tait. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

People observed a fast whenever they performed some sacrifice.¹

We can also form some idea of the rules of etiquette. From a simile in the R̥gveda we learn that the Vedic Indians took their meals in a sitting posture.² Men avoided taking meals with their wives³ and women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.⁴

Students were expected to go out to beg food for it was supposed that the practice created a sense of humility in them.⁵ We also find the beginnings of some taboos in the Samhitās. The use of exudation of trees (*niryāsa*) was forbidden on account of its red colour.⁶ *Māṣa* pulse was forbidden probably because it was considered exotic.⁷

From a passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we learn that *Soma* juice was considered a proper drink for Brāhmaṇas, curds for Vaiśyas, water for Sūdras and a juice extracted from the roots of *Nyagrodha* and fruits of *Udumbara*, *Alvāttha* and *Plakṣa* for Kṣatriyas.⁸ This shows that the four castes had their own favourite drinks.

To sum up the food habits of the Aryans seem to have been affected considerably by their contact with the non-Aryans who

¹ तदाहुर्वर्द्धपूर्णभासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अन्नतस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्युत भेदेवा हविरश्नीयुरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 11.

Also see Sat. Bra. II. 1. 4. 1.

² नि पर्वता अन्नसदी न सेदुः ।

Rv. VI. 30. 3.

³ तस्माज्जायाया अन्ते नाश्नीयादवीर्यवान् हास्माज्जायते ।

Sat. Bra. X. 5. 2. 9.

⁴ तस्मादिमा मानुष्य स्त्रियस्तिर इवैवपुंसो जिघत्सन्ति या इवतु ता इवेतिह स्माह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

Sat. Bra. I. 9. 2. 12.

⁵ Gopatha. Bra. I. 2. 1-8.

⁶ परित्यक्तं ह्येषां तृतीयं ब्रह्महत्यायै प्रत्यगुह्यन्तस् निर्यासोऽभवत्तस्मा निर्यासस्य नास्यम् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 3.

⁷ See Chapter II. (p. 12, f. n. 3.)

⁸ स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां स भक्षो ब्राह्मणांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यदि दधि वैश्यानां स भक्षो वैश्यांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यद्यपः सूत्राणां स भक्षः सूत्रांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथास्यैव स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधादथ फलानि चोदुम्बराण्याश्वत्थानि प्ला-
क्षान्पुष्पिण्युपात्तानि भक्षयेत् सोऽस्य स्वो भक्षः ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

were the makers of the Indus civilization. Probably wheat and rice became a part of their dietary only after this contact, as there is no mention of these cereals in the *Rgveda*. Fish was also included in the articles of food by the time of the *Yajurveda*. The use of oil as a cooking medium seems to have been borrowed by the Aryans from the non-Aryans. *Soma* juice was widely used in the beginning but towards the end of the period, when it became difficult to obtain the plant, some substitutes were used.

APPENDIX A

[Page 27, f. n. 4]

1. *Uśhkhala*—(a mortar) Rv. I. 28. 6., Av. X. 9. 26. XI. 3. 3., XII. 3. 13, Tait. Sam. V. 2. 8. 7. VII. 2. 1. 3., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 6.
2. *Vanaspati*—(a pestle) Tait. Sam. VI. 2.8.4., Av. IX. 3.11. Later it was called *Musala* Av. IX. 6. 15. X. 9. 26. etc., Tait. Sam. I. 6.8.3., Sat. Bra. XII. 5.2.7., Jaim. Bra. I. 42. 44.
3. *Tilau*—(a sieve)—Rv. X. 71. 2.
4. *Dhmātṛ*—(a blower) Rv. V. 9.5.
5. *Gharma*—(a pot for heating milk)—Rv. III. 5.3.14, V. 30.15. etc., Vaj. Sam. VIII. 61., Av. 73.6., Ait. Bra. I. 18.22.
6. *Pacana*—(a vessel for cooking food)—Rv. I. 162. 6., Sat. Bra. VI. 5.4. 3., XIV. 1.2.21. etc.
7. *Ukbā*—(a cooking pot)—It was generally made of clay. (Tait. Sam. IV. 1.54). Its hooks were called *Anika* (Rv. I. 162.13). Rv. I. 162. 13. etc., Tait. Sam. V. 1.63., Vaj. Sam. XI. 59., Av. XII. 3.23.
8. *Caru*—A cauldron which was heated on fire. (Rv. VII. 104.2). It had a cover (*apīdhāna* Rv. I. 162.2). Later it was made of iron or bronze (Sat. Bra. XIII. 3.4.5.), Rv. I. 7.6., VII. 104.2., Av. IV. 7.4., IX. 5.4., Kath. Sam. V. 6., Maits. Sam. I. 4.4.9., Tait. Sam. I. 6.12.1., Sat. Bra. IV. 7. 41., Ait. Bra. I. 1.
9. *Ladles*:
Jubū—Rv. I. 145.3., VIII. 43. 10., X. 21.3.
Upasacani—Rv. X. 21. 2., X. 205.10.
Sruva—Brh. Up. III. 9. 18., VI. 3. 13.
Sruv—Rv. V. 41. 12., Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 21., Av., V. 27.5., IX. 6. 17.
Darvī—(wooden ladle) Rv. X. 105. 10., V. 6. 9.
10. *Pieces of stone used for pressing Soma*.
Grāvan—Rv. X. 76. 94, 76. 175.
Adri—Rv. X. 175. 3., IX. 11.5.
11. *A piece of stone used for pounding rice*.
Dṛṣṭad—Rv. VII. 104. 22., VIII. 72.4., Av. II. 31.1, Sat. Bra. I. 1.1. 22. etc.
12. *Strainers*:
Pavitrā—(a strainer made of sheep's wool)—Rv. IX. 6. 3., IX. 37. 1., IX. 109. 36., Av. IV. 124. 3., IX. 6. 16. etc.
Kārotara—Rv. I. 116. 7., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 16., Sat. Bra. XXII. 9. 1. 2., Kaus. Bra. II. 7.
13. *Vessels used for storing Soma juice*:
Amatra—Rv. II. 14. 1., V. 51.4., VI. 42. 2., X. 29. 7.
Aivattha—(made of wood) Rv. I. 135. 8.
Abava—Rv. I. 34. 8., VI. 7. 2., X. 101.5. etc.

Kośa—Rv. III. 32. 15., IV. 17.6. etc.

Drū—Rv. I. 161. 1., V. 86. 3. etc.

Kalasa—Rv. I. 117. 12., IV. 27. 1. 22., XI. 59. etc.

Tait. Sam. I. 1. 8. 1., Vaj. Sam. I. 22., XI. 59. etc.

Camu—Rv. VIII. 2. 82., IX. 20.6., IX. 62. 16. etc.

Dropa—(a wooden tub) Rv. VI. 2. 8. IX. 28. 4. IX. 98. 27. etc.

14. *Drinking cups*:

Pātra—Av. IV. 17. 4., VI. 142. 1., Tait. Sam. V. 1. 6. 2.

Camasa—Rv. I. 20. 6., X. 16. 8., Vaj. Sam. XXII. 13.

Av. VII. 73. 3., Sat. Bra. VII. 2. 11. 2. etc.

Graba—Rv. X. 114. 5.

Kāṁsa—a cup made of metal, Av. X. 10. 5., Ait. Bra. VIII. 10. etc.

15. *Kumbha*—A pitcher generally made of clay.

Rv. I. 116. 7., VII. 33. 13., Av. IX. 5. 5. etc.

16. *Udāṁcana*—A bucket for drawing water.

Rv. V. 44. 13., Ait. Bra. VII. 32., Sat. Bra. IV. 3. 5. 21.

17. *Dyṛti*—A leather bag for holding milk.

Rv. V. 83. 9., VIII. 5. 19. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 19. 1., Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 18.,

Av. VII. 18, Panc. Bra. V. 10.2.

18. *Śūla*—A spit used for roasting flesh.

Rv. I. 162. 11., Sat. Bra. XI. 4. 2. 4., Chand Up. VII. 15.3. etc.

19. *Svadbiti*—A knife to dissect the sacrificial animal.

Rv. I. 162. 13., I. 18. 20.

Sāṁd—A knife. Rv. I. 162. 13.

20. *Āstacana*—A vessel for holding liquids.

Rv. I. 162. 13., Sat. Bra. II. 1. 9. 5.

21. *Aṅgāravakṣayana*—Tongs Brh. Up. III. 9. 18.

22. *Dhāvitra*—A fan generally made of the skin of a deer with a handle made of bamboo or Udumbara wood. Tait. Ar. V. 9.2., Sat. Bra. IX. 3. 1. 20.

23. *Śūrpa*—A wicker work basket for winnowing.

Av. IX. 6. 16., X. 9. 26., Tait. Sam. I. 6. 8. 3. etc.

24. *Sthālī*—A cooking pot usually of clay. Av. VIII. 6. 17., Tait. Sam.

VI. 5. 10. 5., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 86, Ait. Bra. I. 11. 8.

25. *Piṭṭila*—A wooden dish. Sat. Bra. II. 5.3.6.

26. *Upamanthanī*—a churning stick. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

27. *Śarāva*—A cup usually of clay. Tait. Bra. I. 3. 4. 5., Sat. Bra. V. 1.4.12.

28. *Nināhya*—A water jar which was buried in the ground. Sat. Bra. III. 9. 28.

29. *Parīṣāsa*—An instrument to lift the kettle off the fire. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 3. 1. etc.

CHAPTER III
FOOD AND DRINKS
(800 B.C. TO 300 B.C.)

In this chapter an attempt has been made to make a survey of the food habits of Indians during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. But the chapter has been divided into two sections, one describing the picture as presented by the Sūtra literature and the other by early Buddhist and Jain works. It is necessary because the authors of Sūtra literature had different ideals in respect of food and occupied a different region from that of the Buddhists or the Jains. The Sūtras represent the Brahmanical point of view. In the Buddhist and Jain works we have a tradition which is non-Brahmanical if not exactly Kṣatriya as contended by Pargiter and some other writers.

SECTION I (THE SŪTRAS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

Of the food grains barley and rice continued to be the most important. The daily offerings to the gods consisted of barley from the barley harvest till the rice harvest and of rice from the rice harvest till the barley harvest.¹ An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley.²

¹ पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति व्रीहिभिर्यवैर्वा हस्तेनैते ग्राह्यी जहोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6. 21.

स्वयन्वेवाशस्यः बलिः हरेत् यवेभ्योऽध्याव्रीहिभ्यः व्रीहिभ्योऽध्यायवेभ्यः, स त्वाशस्यो नाम बलिर्भवति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 4. 28.

व्रीहिप्रभृत्यायवेभ्यो यवेभ्यो वाऽव्रीहिभ्यः स्वयं हरेत् स्वयं हरेत् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 40.

² Yava—Pāṇini V. 1.7., V. 2. 3., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16. 22. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Manava Gr. Su. I. 11.2, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 39.

Yavānī (inferior variety of barley) Pāṇini IV. 1. 49.

The old preparations of barley were in common use :—

Dhānāḥ (Parched barley grains) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.6., 1.7; Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3.6, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Some new preparations are mentioned by Pāṇini. Barley gruel (*Yavāgū*) was a favourite food of the people residing in the Alwar-Bikaner region.¹ It had two varieties one of which was licked and the other was drunk.² *Yāvaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk.³ Wheat had not yet become very popular as it is not mentioned in the Sūtras.

Besides barley, rice seems to be common. A fine variety of rice, *śālī*⁴ is distinguished from the ordinary variety *Vrihi*.⁵ These two varieties had many subkinds.⁶ Pāṇini mentions two fine varieties one of which ripened in sixty days and the other was grown on the banks of the river Devikā.⁷ Boiled rice was taken with curds, honey, meat and milk. It was also cooked with pulses.⁸ Parched rice, *Apūṣa*, *Pr̥thuka*, *Kṛsara* and *Puro-*

Karambha (Parched barley flour with clarified butter or curds) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3. 6., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Saktu (Parched barley meal) Pāṇini VI. 3. 59, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7. 22, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 2.136, Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20.

Śālī—Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini (H), p. 121).

² *Uṣṇikā* (Pāṇini V. 2.7.) was a *pēya* variety while *Nakhamṣacā* was the one which was licked, because it scorched the fingers' ends. (Pāṇini III. 2.34).

³ Pāṇini IV. 3.25.

⁴ Pāṇini V. 2.2. *Śālī* was grown in winter while *Vrihi* was grown in autumn. See Chapter V (7).

Rice was probably the staple food grain in the south as it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word for rice *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi*. T. R. Seshu Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136

⁶ Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 39, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.22, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.2.

It is not white when husked according to the Bhāvapraśāsa.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇavrihi* was black rice (Katya. Sr. Su. XV. 3.14.)

Mahāvrihi was a fine variety (Pāṇini VI. 2.38).

Hāyana (red rice) (Pāṇini III. 1.48).

Yāvaka—A variety of rice (Pāṇini V. 4.3.)

⁷ *Śajjika*—Pāṇini V. 1.90.

षष्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते ।

देविकाशिशपादित्यवाङ्दीर्घसञ्च श्रेयसामात् ।

दाविकाकूलाः शालयः ।

Pāṇini VII. 3. 1.

⁸ *Odana*—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5, Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

Bhakta (boiled rice)—Pāṇini IV. 4. 10.

Payodana—नापित्वाय पयोदनं दत्त्वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 8.2.

ḍāṣa were very popular.¹ Probably cakes made of powdered rice were called *Piṣṭakas*.² Some inferior cereals such as wild

Rice taken with curds, honey or clarified butter

अथोदनं दध्ना मधुना घृतेनाद्भिरिति समुदायुत्य हिरण्येनौषधस्य कुमारं प्राशयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.

घृतोदनं तेजस्कामः ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14. 4.

Kṣīrandana (with milk) and *Sṅpandana* (with pulses)

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.54.

Māṁśasandana (rice cooked with meat) Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

¹ *Lājāḥ* (fried rice grains) were used at the time of marriage in the Sūtra period.

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.11, Gobh. Gr. Su. VII. 3.6, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.36, I. 16.34.

अथास्या अञ्जलावुपस्तीर्य तस्यास्तोदयो द्विर्लाजानावपति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.25.

सकृद् गृहीतमञ्जलिं लाजानां यध्वञ्जलावावपेत् भ्राता ।

Khadir Gr. Su. I. 3.19.

धानाः करम्भः परिवापः पुरोडाशः पयस्येति तेषां यद्यत्कामवीर्यस्तत्तदुपिगुल्फयेयुः . . .

अन्यान्वा पथ्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः । एतेन वर्तयेयुः पशुना च ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

Parched rice flour (*Mantha*) was taken with curds, honey and water (Pāṇini VI. 3.60).

हवींष्यासादयेदोदनं कुसरं पायसं दधिमन्वान् मधुमन्धांश्च ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3.

Apāpa—Pāṇini also mentions *Apāpas* in which wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with sugar was used as stuffing (*Cārṇitāḥ apāpāḥ*). Pāṇini IV. 4.23, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 29.

ओदनं कुसरं पायसं । चतुःशरावस्य षाण्णान् । उदीरतामवर उत्पराश इत्यष्टाभिर्हुत्वा ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

अपूपधानाकरम्भसक्तुबटकतैलपायसशकानि शुक्तानि वर्जयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

Prithuka

लाजा अपूपपृथुकायुपहारांश्च दत्त्वा नमस्कृत्य ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.34.

काणितपृथुकतण्डुलकरम्भभक्षसक्तुशाकमांसपिण्डक्षीरविकारौषधिवनस्पतिमूलफलवर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.

Kṣāra—(Preparation of rice and sesamum)

It was given to a barber. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

तिलतण्डुलसम्भवः कुसरः

Commentator on Kh. Gr. Su. II. 2.27.

कुसरो नापिताय ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.7.

Puroḍāṣa—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

अतुङ्गमनपूपाकृतिं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमद्वयशकमानं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

² Pāṇini IV. 3. 147.

rice (*Nivara*, *Priyangu* and *Syāmāka*) were eaten by foresters.¹ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Kulaththa* (horsegram) had come into use.² Of the pulse preparations the most common was a soup (*Sūpa*). Small round cakes (*Vataka*) were also prepared.³ *Kulmāṣa* continued to be eaten by poor people and ascetics.⁴

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains cow's milk and its products were in common use.⁵ Cows as now, were milked in the morning and

¹ *Priyangu*—(panic seeds) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 3.

Nivāra—Pāṇini III. 3.48.

Syāmāka—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.12, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

² *Māṣa*—Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 6.6.

In a Śrāddha—

तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषात्रीहियवा आपो मूलफलानि ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.23.

In the ceremony of tonsure

उत्तरतोऽग्नेर्ब्रीहियवमाषतिलानांपृथक्पूर्वशरावाणि निदधाति

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

यवा आढक्यस्तण्डुलास्यामाकामुद्ग मेव च चनकातिलमाषाश्च कुलुत्वाश्च क्रमात् क्षिपेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Mudga—Pāṇini IV. 4.25, Pan. Gr. Su. I. 15.4, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Canaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Kulaththa—It was avoided by a man observing a vow (Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.)

Ādhakā—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

³ *Sūpa*—Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

Vataka—(small round balls prepared with pulses).

अपूप घाना करम्भ सक्तु वटक तैल पायस शाकानि शुक्ताणि वर्जयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

⁴ *Kulmāṣa*—(Ghughri in Hindi) (some inferior grain boiled with a little water, *guda* and oil) Pāṇini V. 2. 83.

⁵ *Gavya* or *Payasya*—(Pāṇini IV. 3.160).

Payas (Milk)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7.

Dadhi (curds)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7., Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Navanīla—(Butter) Ap. Gr. Su. I. 15.9.

उत्पूतेन नवनीतेनानुस्पृतेन वा सपिपा स्थालीपाकमभिघार्य एकस्कयायां मेक्षणमासाद्य स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3.7.8.

Haiyagavāna (butter churned from the curds of previous day's milk) —Pan. V. 2.23.

Sarpi—(Clarified butter) Indians seem to be fond of preparations mixed with clarified butter.

in the evening.¹ Milk of a pregnant cow, a cow in heat, and one which suckled the calf of another cow was forbidden. Beastings were as before not taken for the first ten days.² Besides, milk-rice which continued to be popular, a favourite preparation of curds was *payaryā*. Some fragrant spices and crystal sugar were used in its preparation.³ Preparations mixed with ghee seem to have been greatly relished.⁴

MEAT DIET

The writers of the Sūtras consider it meritorious to kill an ox or a goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁵ Flesh of various

नैय्यमिकं तु श्राद्धं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात् । १७।

सर्पिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १८।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.17.18.

स्नेहवति स्वेवावन्ने पितृणां तीव्रतरा प्रीतिर्वाधीयांसं च कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

Gobh. Gr. Su. 1.7.20, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7, II. 1.7, 1.18.

¹ सायं दोहमाहुत्य प्रातर्दोहं ॐ अपयित्वा ।

Kātya. Śr. Su. IV. 2.38.

² तक्षकं पयः । उष्ट्रीक्षीरमृगीक्षीरसन्धिनीक्षीरयमसूक्षीराणीति । घेनोपचानिर्द-
शायाः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 22-24.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12. 9-12, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 24. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 34-35.

³ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Kh. Gr. Su. III. 1.38, IV. 2.18, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.22.

Prṣadāṇya means a mixture of curds and clarified butter in this period.

दधन्यत्र सर्पिरानयन्त्येतत् पित्र्यं पृषदाज्यम्

Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Payaryā—Asv. Śr. Su. VI. 8. See F.D.A.I., p. 16.

⁴ See p. 37, f. n. 3.

⁵ Pāṇini also refers to meat in IV. 4.35 and IV. 4.67. He calls a guest *goghna* i.e. a person for whom a cow was killed (III. 4.73). Roasted meat was eaten (*Śāliya* IV. 2. 17).

नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति भवति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.28.

नस्वेवामांसोऽर्घ्यंस्स्यात् । अश्वत्थी पिष्टान्नं संसिद्धयेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53-54.

अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय वा महोक्षं वा महाजं वा पचेदेवमस्याति-
थ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV.

Cf. Sankh. Gr.Su. II. 15.2, Ap.Dh.Su. II. 3.74, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.53.

birds is prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.¹ Meat preparations were common in a *Srāddha*, but if one could not afford meat one was allowed to use vegetables.² Many animals continued to be killed at sacrifices and their meat was partaken by the sacrificers.³ The archaeological evidence also shows that humped bull, buffalo, and sheep were slaughtered for food.⁴

The notion of clean and unclean meat was well developed in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should not take meat which has been cut with a sword.⁵ Eating flesh of a dog, a man, a village cock, a boar and a carnivorous animal is consi-

¹ भारद्वाज्यामात्रेण वाक्प्रसारकामस्य । कपिजलमात्रेण ब्राह्मकामस्य । मत्स्यैर्जवन-
कामस्य । कृकपाया आयुष्कामस्य । आद्या ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य । सर्वैः सर्वकामस्य । अन्न
पर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनमन्नपर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मण भोजनम् ।

Paraskara Gr. Su. I. 19-7-13.

अजमन्नाद्यकामः । तैत्तिरि ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । घृतीदनं तेजस्कामः । दधिमधुघृत-
मिश्रमन्नं प्राशयेत् अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य नोदेहि अन्नमीवस्य शुष्मिणः द्विपदे चतुष्पदे इति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14-2-6

² सर्पिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तैलं शाकमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

संवत्सरं गव्येन प्रीतिः । भूयांसमतो नाहिषेण ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7-16 26-27.

खड्गोपस्तरणेखड्ग मांसिनानन्त्यं कालम् । १ । तथा शतवलेर्मत्स्यस्य मांसिन । वार्ध्रा-
णसस्य च ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17 1-3.

खड्गमृगमहिषमेघवराहपुतशशरोहित शार्ङ्गलितिरिकपोतकपिञ्जलवार्ध्राणसानामक्षय्यं
तिलमधुसंस्पृष्टम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य शतवलेः क्षीरोदनेन सूपोदनेन वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.33-34

नियुक्तस्तु यदा श्राद्धे दैवे वा मांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 31.

यावन्ति पशुरोमाणि तावन्नरकमृच्छति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.15.

³ पृथङ् मांसं चोदनं चापूपांश्च अपयन्त्यन्यांश्च भक्ष्यविशेषान् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7-4.

वर्हिषादाय गामुपाकरोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.26.

अथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमर्जं वाऽलभते ।

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. III. 4, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 10.16, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.31., Hiran. Gr. Su. II. 15.1, Vaikhāṇasa. IV. 3, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10, Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 17.1, V. 15.1.

⁴ Excavations at Hastinapur (1950-52) Ancient India No. 10 and 11. (1954 and 1955) by Sri B. B. Lal, pp. 115-117.

⁵ हिंसार्थेनातिना मांसं छिन्नमभोज्यम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.16.

dered a sin.¹ The meat of one hoofed animals, of camels, of *gayāla*, of village pigs, locusts, of cattle, of animals having a double row of teeth or excessive hair or of those which have no hair and eating of fish was forbidden.²

But in times of distress even unclean meat was permitted if only to save life. The general feeling of the time about meat eating seems to be that it should be used in extending hospitality to guests, as offering to gods and manes but animals should not be killed otherwise.³ No doubt on these occasions the householders partook of the meat preparations, and of these occasions there were many.

SWEETS

Honey was extensively used in many ceremonies in the Sūtra period,⁴ and was invariably used in welcoming guests, the common preparation used for the purpose being a mixture of honey with curds or ghee (*Madhuparka*).⁵ Its use was not

¹ प्रतिविद्वानां मौसभशणम् । शुनो मनुष्यस्य च कुक्कुटसूकराणां ग्राम्याणां कव्यादसाम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 21. 14-15.

श्वकुक्कुटग्राम्यसूकरकङ्कगृध्रभासपारावतमानुषकालूकमासादने सप्तरात्रमुपवासः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XXIII. 25.

² एकक्षुरोद्गवयग्रामसूकरशरभगवाम् । घेन्वनडुहोर्भक्ष्यम् । मेध्यमानडुहमिति वाज-
सनेयकम् । कुक्कुटो विकिराणाम् । प्लवः प्रतुदाम् । कव्यावः । हंसभासचक्रवाकसुपर्णाश्च । कृञ्च-
क्रीञ्चवाध्रिणसलक्ष्मणवर्जम् । पञ्चनलानां गोधाकच्छपस्वाविच्छल्यकलङ्गशशपृथिलववर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 29-37.

श्वाविच्छल्यकशशकच्छपगोधाः पञ्चनलानां भक्ष्याः । अणुद्गा पशूनामन्यतो
दन्ताश्च मत्स्यानां वा चेटगवय शिशुमारतक कुलीराविकुतरूपाः । सर्पशीर्षाश्च । गौरगवय-
शरभाश्चानुदिष्टाः । तथा घेन्वनडुहौ मेध्यौ वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते । खदगे तु विदवत्यग्राम्य-
सूकरे च । शकुनानां च विष्णुविक्रिरजालपादाः । कलविच्छल्यकलङ्गशशपृथिलववर्जम् । कलविच्छल्यकलङ्गशशपृथिलववर्जम् । कलविच्छल्यकलङ्गशशपृथिलववर्जम् ।
नक्तचरदावाघाटचटकरैलातहारीतलञ्जरीट ग्राम्यकुक्कुटशुकराकोकिलकव्यादा ग्राम-
चारिणश्चाग्रामचारिणश्चेति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 30-37.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5. 12. 5., Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 16-31.

³ मधुपर्कं च यज्ञे च पितृदेवतकर्मणि ।

अत्रैव पशवो हिंसाग्रान्यथेत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV. 6.

Cf. Viṣṇu Dh. Su. IV. 6, Śāṅkh. Gr. Su. II. 16. 1.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4. 6., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3. 23-24,
Parask. Gr. Su. II. 5. 12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23.

⁵ दधनि मध्वानीय सर्पिर्वा मध्वलाभे ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21. 5.

allowed to the students even in this period.¹

Besides honey another source of sweet ingredients was sugarcane.² *Guḍa*, inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency (*Phāṇita*) and probably sugar were prepared from it.³ Of new sweet preparations *Pālala* was prepared with sesamum and *guḍa* or sugar and *Samyāva* with wheat flour fried in clarified butter, and mixed with milk and *guḍa*. Sometimes cardamom, pepper and ginger were added to make it more tasteful⁴. Ears of barley or wheat were parched and beaten with a pestle and after being cleaned were mixed with *guḍa* to make *abhyūṣa*.⁵ Sweets called *Svastika*, *Modaka* and *Nandjāvarta* are also mentioned.⁶

SALTS AND SPICES

For the purposes of seasoning food in addition to salt⁷ some other spices such as long pepper, black pepper and asafoetida were used.⁸ Saline preparations were not allowed to students,

¹ न मधुमात्रं से प्राप्नीयात् ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

अमधुमात्राशी स्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. II. 5.11.

Cf. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Paras. Gr. Su. II. 5. 12, Gobh. Gr. Su.

III. 117. 19-23.

² Sugarcane plantations (*Iḥṣavana*) are mentioned. Panini VIII. 4.3.

³ *Guḍa*—Pāṇ. IV. 4.103, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

Phāṇita—(Inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency)

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.

⁴ The old preparations in common use were :

Apāpa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Kṛsara—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pāyasa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pālala—Pan. VI. 2.135.

Samyāva—Cūtmā in Hindi (Pāṇ. III. 3.23.)

⁵ *Abhyūṣa*—is mentioned in the *Apāpādīvarga* in Pāṇini.

⁶ Manav. Gr. Su. II. 6.4.

⁷ अक्षार लवणं भुञ्जाना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

⁸ *Pippali*—(long pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

It was exported from South India from the earliest times.

The Greek word *peperi* is taken from the Dravidian word *pippali*.

Marica—(black pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

Hingu—(asafoetida) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 32-33.

The common words for seasoning were *Upasacana* and *Vyāñjana*.

व्यञ्जनैरुपसक्ते ।

Pāṇ. IV. 4. 26.

शकं व्यञ्जनमन्वाहार्यम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. IV. 4.20.

widows and to a newly married couple for three nights.¹

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesamum was the most important oil seed² used in Śrāddha and other ceremonies.³ Its oil was regarded as a substitute for clarified butter.⁴ Āpastamba lays down that a person should avoid oil cakes when observing a vow.⁵ We find mustard mentioned; perhaps its oil may also have been used.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Sūtras do not mention the names of many fruits but fruits formed an essential part of the diet of the Aryans.⁷ Besides the three varieties of jujube,⁸ *udumbara* fruit (Indian fig) and *Saphaka* (*trapabispinosa*) were the common edible fruits⁹ but Pāṇini also mentions rose apple (*Jambū*)¹⁰ and mango.¹¹

¹ *Students*—

न मधुमसि प्राश्नीयात् क्षारलवणे च ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—

अक्षार लवणं भुञ्जाना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

Newly married couple—

त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणेदुग्धमिति वर्जयानी सह शयीयातां ब्रह्मचारिणी ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.9.

तस्य हविर्भक्षयित्वा यथासुखमत ऊर्ध्वं मधुमसि प्राश्नीयात् क्षारलवणे च ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 2.21.

² Panini V. 1.7, V. 2.4.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16.22, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.21, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Baudh. Gr. Sesa Su. I. 16-17, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

उत्तरतोऽग्नेर्ब्रह्मिष्यवमापतिलानांपृथक् पूर्णशरावाणि निदधाति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

तिलाश्चाद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय, यद्यपां संसर्जनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

⁴ सर्पिर्मांसमिति प्रथमःकल्पः । अभावे तैलशक्यमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.1.

⁶ Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 15.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.17.

⁷ अन्यान्ता पथ्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः ।

Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8.8.

⁸ कुवलकं मधुदरचूर्णानि चावपति ।

Kātyāyana Śr. Su. XV. 10.11

⁹ *Udumbara*—Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.

Saphaka—Ap. Sr. Su. IX. 14.14.

¹⁰ *Jambū*—(rose apple) Panini IV. 3. 165.

¹¹ *Āmra*—(mango). Pan. VIII. 4.5, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.20.3.

Unripe fruits were called *śatan* (Asv. Gr. Su. I. 12. 4.)

Leafy vegetables¹ were eaten and some of them were cooked. Some roots such as radish and ginger, which aid digestion were munched after meals.² Garlic, onions and leeks were avoided by respectable people.³

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Drinking was common in the days of Pāṇini as he mentions words meaning a vintner, a distillery and liquor.⁴ The ingredients were first formed into a ferment. When the fermentation was complete the ingredients were called *Āsavya*.⁵ The sediment which was left after distillation was called *Viniya*.⁶ From the Sūtras we learn that strong liquor was served to the guests when a person entered a new house,⁷ it was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place⁸ and it was served to the wives of forefathers in the Ānvaṣṭakya rite.⁹ Women who performed a dance at the time of marriage were also served *Surā*.¹⁰

But the evil effects of drinking were not unknown to the authors of the Dharmasūtras.¹¹ They regard drinking as a heinous crime, and forbid the use of liquors particularly for Brāhmaṇas and students.¹²

¹ *Sāka*—(uncooked leafy vegetables)—Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-19.

Bhājī—(cooked vegetables) Pāṇini IV. 1.42.

Srāṇa (cooked vegetables) Pan. IV. 4. 67.

² *Upadaṇṭa*—(Digestive roots) Pāṇini III. 4.47.

³ करञ्जपलण्डपराशिकाः।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 26.

⁴ *Saundhika*—(Vintner) Pāṇini IV. 3.76.

Āsūt—(distillery) Pāṇini V. 2.112.

A Sūtra refers to people who could even take the sediment of liquor.
कणे हृत्यपिबति।

Pāṇini. I. 4.66.

Maḍya—Pāṇini III. 1. 100.

Surā—Pāṇini II. 4.25.

⁵ Pāṇini III. 1.126.

⁶ Pāṇini III. 1.117.

⁷ Paras. Gr. Su. III. 4.9.

⁸ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.

⁹ स्त्रीभ्यश्च । सुरामात्रामित्यधिकम्।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.6-7.

Cf. Parask. Gr. Su. III. 5.11.

¹⁰ Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.5. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11. 5.

¹¹ सर्वे मद्यमपेयम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

¹² मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः।

Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8.

Besides *Sura*¹ which was generally prepared with barley or rice flour there were some other intoxicating drinks. *Kilāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.² In the preparation of *Māsara* a mixture of a mess of rice or *Syāmāka* with some spices was allowed to ferment for three days. This mixture was purified with the help of a filter and then used as a beverage.³ A spiced liquor *Maireya* prepared with *Guḍa* or sugar had also come into use.⁴ Wine imported from Kāpiśi (north of Kabul) was known as Kāpiśāyani.⁵ Pāṇini refers to two other varieties of wines *Kālikā* and *Avadātikā*.⁶

Soma juice continued to be used in Śrauta ritual but is not mentioned in the domestic rites.⁷ This probably means that it was no longer a common drink. The scarcity of the plant may have been one of the reasons as *Adāra* a substitute is mentioned in the Āp. Śr. Su. XIV. 24. 12-13. *Parisruta* was another beverage.⁸ Some decoctions (*Kaṣāya*) of rice meal and flowers were also used as intoxicating beverages.⁹

It appears from the Gautama Dharma Sūtra that the Brāhmaṇas were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drinks.¹⁰ The Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas could, however, take liquors prepared from honey, *madhūka* flowers and *Guḍa* but not spirituous liquors distilled from flour.¹¹

¹ Āp. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8, I. 5.17.21, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25, Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

² तथा किलालोपधीनां च ।

Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

³ ब्रीहिष्यामाकौदनश्चापयोः शप्पतोक्मलाज नम्लदुर्घणः संसर्गो मासरम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

दक्षिणेन हृत्वा नम्लदु चूर्णानि कृत्वा तांश्च ब्रीहिष्यामाकौदनयो पृथगाचामौ निविच्य चूर्णे संसृज्य निदधाति तन्मासरम् ।

ओदनौ चूर्णः मासरैः स ॐ सृज्य स्वादीं त्वाञ्छुना त इति त्रिरात्रं निदधाति ।

Kātya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1. 20-21.

⁴ मज्झानि मेरेये ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.70.

Cf. Manav. Gr. Su. II. 14. 28.

⁵ कापिष्याः पक्क ।

Pāṇini IV. 2. 99.

⁶ Pāṇini V. 4.3.

⁷ Kātya Sr. Su. XIV. 1. 14.

⁸ Ibid

and XV 10.9. See F.D.A.I., p. 30. f. no. (159).

⁹ Pāṇini VI. 2.10.

¹⁰ Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.

Cf. Kath. Sam. XII. 12.

¹¹ History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. Part II, p. 795—Kane.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Āpastamba lays down that it is the duty of the householder and his wife to see that the water vessels in the house are never empty.¹ This shows the importance which was attached to drinking water in this period. It was purified in a filter before use.² Waters from rivers and reservoirs having sweet smell, colour and taste were probably considered good for drinking.

THE ART OF COOKING

The art of cooking³ was well developed. This is clear from the fact that the various stages in the preparation of *Stbālī-pāka* (boiled rice fit for offering) are described in detail. Rice grains were washed by sprinkling water over them, husking them.⁴ They were then cooked with clarified butter. The preparation of *Puroḍāśa*, *Apūpa*, stuffed *Apūpas*, *Kṛsara* and *Sanīyāva* shows great skill in culinary art. An idea of the size of *Puroḍāśa* can be had from the fact that it is stated that four cups of ground grains were required to make one cake.⁵ Cooks were sometimes called according to the quantity of food stuff they handled.⁶ A distinction has also been made between solid (*Bhaksya*) and liquid food.⁷ Meat, pulse soup and vegetables are regarded as solid foods. Some food stuffs such as *gūḍa*, clarified butter and sesame

¹ Āp. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.15.

² उत्तरस्यां पथो वीतसेऽजाऽविलोमपवित्रेण ब्रह्मक्षत्रमिति

Kāty. Śr. Su. XIX. 2.12.

³ *Pakti*—Pāṇini III. 3.95.

⁴ अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वैककपालं.....अवप्लुतः स्यात् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.4-5.

Cf. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 319.

⁵ अतुङ्गमनूपाकृतिं कूर्मस्यैव प्रतिकृतिमश्वशफमात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

⁶ आढकाचितपात्रात्सोऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

Pāṇini. V. 1.53.

कुलिजाल्लुबधौ च ।

Pāṇini V. 1.55.

⁷ भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ।

Pāṇini VII. 3.69.

भक्ष्येण मिथीकरणम् ।

Pāṇini II. 1.35.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ।

Pāṇini IV. 2.16.

Also see India in Pāṇini (H), pp. 115-116.

were mixed for different dishes.¹ Fried wheat flour was used as a stuffing and salt and curds were mixed with food preparations.²

Some of the common cooking implements were a cooking pot (*sthāli*), a ladle (*Sruva*), and a spoon (*Darvī*).³ Cups (*Sarāva*) were used for measuring food stuffs and a grind-stone and a mortar were regarded as very important.⁴ Vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use besides earthenware. Sometimes gold vessels and those made of wood were also used.⁵ A piece of broken jar (*kapāla*) was used for baking cakes.⁶ The omentum of a victim was grilled in a vessel (*Vapāsīrapanī*) and meat was roasted on spits (*Hṛdayasūla*). An earthen utensil was used only once. If it had to be used again it was fired afresh. Metallic utensils were cleaned with ashes and wooden ones by scraping.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

In the Sūtras hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.⁸ It is considered improper for an Ārya

¹ पल्लसूपशाकमिश्रे ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

² चूर्णादिभिः ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.23.

लवणाल्लुक् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.24.

मुद्गादण् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.25.

³ *Sthāli*—Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

Sruva—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Camasa—Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

Darvī—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Ukha—(fryingpan) Pāṇini IV. 2.17.

Sārpa—(winnowing basket) Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.9.

⁴ *Sarāva*—Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

Ulikhala (mortar)—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, IV. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 9-12 Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.7, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3.

काञ्च से भस्मे वा दधिमधुचानीय वर्षीयसा पित्रायाचमनीय प्रथमैः प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

⁶ Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.7, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 3.30, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

⁷ अनाप्रीते मृन्मये भोजनव्यम् । आप्रीतं चैव निदग्धे । परिमृष्टं लोहं प्रयतम् । निर्लिप्तम् दाहयम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 9-12.

⁸ The five daily duties of a householder were prayer to God (*Brahmajyāna*), offerings to gods (*Devayajña*), offerings to the spirits of the deceased

to take his meals without offering food to gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests.¹ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality² but even a Sūdra guest was to be provided with food. Besides gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.³ New corn was not eaten without making offerings in fire.⁴

Besides hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food. Both in the morning and in the evening every respectable person (*Arya*) was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.⁵ The *Sūdras* were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bathe before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.⁶ Grain was well

(*Pitryajña*), hospitality to the guests (*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and birds (*Bhūtiyajña*).

Asv. Gr. Su. II, III. 1-3. 1-2, Paras. Gr. Su. VI. 1.4.1.

सर्वस्य त्वन्नस्याग्नौ कृत्वाग्नें ब्राह्मणाय वत्सा स्वयं कुर्वीत।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 3.39.

¹ न रसान् गृहे भुञ्जीतानावशेषमतिथिभ्यः। नात्मार्यमभिरूपमन्नं पाचयेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 3-5.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.

² आचार्यायतिर्ज्वे श्वशुराय राज्ञ इति परिसंवत्सरावृत्तिष्ठद्भ्यो गोर्मधुपर्कद्वयं दधि-
मधु संसृष्टं मधुपर्कः। पयो वा मधुसंसृष्टम्। अभाव उच्यते।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 7-9.

तथैते अर्ध्या ऋत्विक्श्वशुरपितृभ्यो मातुलः आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरो-
तिथिरिति।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.

³ गृहमेधिनोर्वदशनीयस्य होमा बलयश्च स्वर्गपुष्टिसंयुक्ताः।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.12.

अथगृहपायसंघृतमिश्रमन्नं निवेदयति।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 22-25.

⁴ सस्यं नाश्नीयादग्निहोत्रमहुत्वा।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 9.

⁵ पाणिपादं प्रक्षाल्य वाग्यतो दक्षिणामुखो भुञ्जीत।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

नानुस्पृश्य भोजनं प्रातः। सायमुपस्पृश्य भोजनमासमिदाधानात्।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2. 8-9.

भोक्ष्यमाणस्तु प्रयतोऽपि द्विराचमेद् द्विः परिमृजेत् सक्तुपस्पृशेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.9.

⁶ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 23. 1-6.

washed before being cooked.¹ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food², probably because they were considered unhygienic. But articles, which did not get spoilt such as roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour, milk preparations, roots, fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.³ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat flavoured or prepared food bought from the market, but raw meat, honey, salt, oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market. It is also laid down that one should use unclean oil and ghee after purifying them with the addition of water.⁴ One is also advised not to eat that food in which there is a hair or any other unclean substance, which has been touched by an unclean substance, in which one finds an insect living on impure substance, excrement or limbs of a mouse. Food touched by foot, the hem of a garment, a dog or those persons who are not allowed to eat from one's utensils, brought in the hem of a garment or brought by a maid servant or brought at night was also to be avoided.⁵ Even food brought through a back door is

¹ त्रिःकलीकृतास्तद्भुलास्त्रिदिवेभ्यः प्रक्षालयेदित्याहुर्द्विर्ननुष्येभ्यः सकृत् पितृभ्य इति ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.

² कृतान्नं पर्यपितमखाद्यमपेयालाद्यम् । शुक्तं च, शुक्तं चापरयोगम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 17-20.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 14-16. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

³ फाणितपूयुक्तद्भुलकरम्भभक्षजसक्तु, शाकमांस पिष्टक्षीरविकारौषधिवनस्पतिमूलफल-
वर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 19.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3.7-38, Manu. V. 25. V. 10, V. 24, Yaj. I. 167-68.

⁴ नापणीयमश्नीयात् । तद्यारसानामासमधुलवणानीति परिहाय । तैलसर्पिषी तूपयोजये-
दुदकेवधाय ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 14-16.

The process of separating impurities from clarified butter by the addition of cold water is followed to this day.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁵ यस्मिन्वान्ने केशः स्यात् । अन्यद् वामेध्यम् । अमेध्यैरवमृष्टम् । कीटो वामेध्यसेवी ।
मूषकलाङ्ग वा । पदा वोपहृतम् । सिचा वा । शुना वापपात्रेण वा दूष्टम् । सिचा वोपहृतम् ।
दास्या वा नक्तमाहुतम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 23-32.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6. Mbh. Anu. 161-100.

prohibited.¹ Food which was smelt by human beings and impure animals such as cats was also avoided.²

But ideas of cleanliness appear to have been tempered with by sound commonsense. It was probably realized that it would be difficult to throw or discard food articles when prepared in bulk on the occasion of some religious ceremonies or marriages even if they were touched by dogs or crows. So the lawgivers prescribe that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water on the remainder. Even food, left after a cat had eaten from it, was regarded as pure.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that even stale food could be eaten after pouring over it curds or clarified butter.⁴

It is laid down that one should leave off eating if during his meal he is touched by a *Sādra*. He should not dine with unworthy people. It was considered improper to dine with one who gives his leavings to his pupils or gets up while others are eating.⁵ But it was customary for a wife to eat food left in her husband's plate.⁶

But some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes, for while some law givers

¹ नापरया द्वारा प्रपन्नमन्नं भुञ्जीत ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 5. 7.

² मनुष्यैरवप्रातमन्यैर्वा मेधैः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 5.

³ देवद्रोण्यां विवाहेषु यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च ।

कार्कः स्वभिक्षं संस्पृष्टमन्नं तन्न विसर्जयेत् । २५।

तस्मादन्नमपोद्धृत्य शेषं संस्कारमर्हति ।

द्रवाणां प्लावनेनैव घनानां प्रोक्षणेन तु । २६।

मार्जारमुखसंस्पृष्टं शुचि एव हि तद् भवेत् । २७।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.

⁴ अन्नं पर्युषितं भावकुटं सकल्लेखं पुनः सिद्धमाभामांसं पक्वं च कामं तु दद्यात् धूतेन वा भिषागितमुपयुञ्जीत ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.

⁵ भुञ्जानं वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.33.

यत्र शूद्र उपस्पृशेत् । १। अन्नहंस्त्रिर्वा समानपङ्क्तौ । २।

भुञ्जानेषु वा यन्नानुत्थायोच्छिष्टं प्रयच्छेदाद्यभेदा । ३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.11-3.

⁶ भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं पक्वं प्रदाय यथार्थं गौर्दक्षिणा ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.22.

भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं पक्वं दद्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.11.

of the period lay down that food offered by people of any caste could be accepted, provided they follow the laws prescribed for them.¹ Others thought that this rule did not apply to a Sūdra unless he was *Dharmopanata*.² Food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables offered by a member of any caste could be accepted.³ Uncooked and unflavoured boiled food could also be accepted.⁴ In times of scarcity a Brāhmaṇa could eat even the food offered by a Sūdra but he is advised to leave the practice as soon as he obtains lawful livelihood.⁵ The food of a herdsman, a farmer, an acquaintance of the family, a barber or a family servant could, however, be eaten without any hesitation.⁶ Āpastamba clearly allows Sūdras to cook food under the supervision of an Ārya.⁷

It is also laid down that food offered by an association, by a general invitation, by an artisan, by a person who lives by the use of arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, a usurer, should not be taken.⁸ Food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a Brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned Brāhmaṇa who

¹ Gaut. Dh. Su. XII. 1.

² सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मे वर्तमानानां भोक्तव्यं शूद्रवर्जमित्येके। ११। तस्यापि धर्मोपन-
तस्य। १४। सुवर्णं दत्त्वा पशुं वा भुञ्जीत नात्यन्तमन्ववस्येद् वृत्तिं प्राप्य विरमेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 13-15.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 1, XVII. 5, Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.

³ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 2.

In case of a sacrifice, however, Baudhāyana does not allow a Sūdra even to milk a cow. (Baud. Sr. Su. XXIV. 31.)

⁴ मध्वामं मांसं मांसं भूमिर्मुलफलानि रक्षा गन्धूतिनिर्देशनं सुगन्धासन्नोद्यतः प्रति-
गृह्णाणि। आमं वा गृह्णीरन्। कृतान्नस्य वा विरसस्य।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 1-4.

Ugra—a person whose father is a Vaiśya and mother a Sūdra.

⁵ स्वयमप्यवृत्तौ सुवर्णं दत्त्वा पशुं वा भुञ्जीत।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.6.

⁶ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII. 6.

⁷ आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्वत्तरिः स्युः।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.

⁸ सङ्घातमभोज्यम्। १६। परिकुटं च। १७। सर्वेषां च शिल्पाजीवाताम्। १८। ये च
शस्त्रमाजीवन्ति। १९। ये चाधिम्। २०। भिक्षुः। २१। वार्धुषिकः। २२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-22.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-21.

avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the daily study of the Vedas and one whose wife is a Sūdra should also be avoided.¹

It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should, as a matter of course, accept the food offered by a Brāhmaṇa. Such a student should not accept the food offered by members of any other caste. If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.²

Food supplied by a drunkenman, a mad man, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice versa was also avoided.³ Food, touched by a woman during her courses was, as before, considered impure.⁴ Food of those families where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of those where a woman had not come out of her confinement chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.⁵ Food, according to Āpastamba, touched by a high caste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impure Sūdra could not be eaten.⁶

¹ नलीवः।२७। राज्ञां प्रेषकरः।२८। अहविषाजी।२९। चारी।३०। अविधित्वा च प्रवृत्तः।३१। यश्चाग्नीनपास्यति।३२। यश्च सर्वान् वर्जयते सर्वान्नी च श्रोत्रियो निराकृति-
वृक्षी पतिः।३३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 28-33.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18, XV. 18.

² अयाणां वर्णानां शत्रियप्रभृतीनां समावृत्तेन न भोक्तव्यम्।९। प्रकृत्वा ब्राह्मणस्य भोक्तव्यम् कारणदभोज्यम्।१०। यत्राश्रायस्त्वित कमसिचते प्रायश्चित्तवति।११। चरित-
निर्वेषस्य भोक्तव्यम्।१२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 9-12.

³ मत्त उन्मत्तो बद्धोऽणिकः प्रत्युपविष्टो यश्च प्रत्युपवेशयते तावन्तं कालम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.

⁴ रजस्वलाकुण्डशकुनिपदोपहृतम्।

Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 27 and 29, Vas. Dh. Su. V. 7.

⁵ यस्य कुले म्रियेत् न तन्नातिर्वेशे भोक्तव्यम्।१८। तथानुस्थितायां सूतिकायाम्।१९।
अन्तः शवे च।२०।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 18-20.

⁶ अग्रयतोपहृतमन्नमग्रयतं न त्वभोज्यम्।२१।

अग्रयतेन तु शूद्रेणोपहृतमभोज्यम्।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 21-22.

These law givers give long lists of those Brāhmaṇas who sanctify the company of diners and of those who defile such company. In the first category are mentioned those persons who comprehend the meaning of the Vedas, students, liberal donors, and persons who have attained the age of hundred years.¹ In the second category are persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery, Brāhmaṇas who follow the profession of arms and the son of a Sūdra with a Brāhmaṇa mother.²

The authors of the Sūtras also lay down that one should not eat food which is given after reviling nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that one should praise food, show one's delight at it and not find fault with it when it is served.⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that a person should, while taking food, keep himself free from lust, anger hatred, greed and perplexity.⁵

Another important rule which we find in the Sūtras is that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man. The food of children consisted of boiled rice with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Some times they were given some meat preparations.⁶ Students were advised not to take food which

¹ त्रिमधुस्त्रिमुपर्वस्त्रिणाचिकेतश्चतुर्मेधः पञ्चामिष्यैष्टसामगो वेदाभ्याय्यनूचानपुत्रः श्रोत्रिय इत्येते श्राद्धे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्तिपाथना भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 17.22.

² श्वित्रः क्षिपिषिष्टः परतल्पगाम्यायुधीयपुत्रः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यामित्येते श्राद्धे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्ति दूषणा भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.

³ द्विषन् द्विषतो वा नाश्रमश्नीशाहोषेण वा मीमांसमानस्य मीमांसितस्य वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.6.19.

कुत्सयित्वा वा यत्रान्नं दद्युः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.4.

अस्कन्दयन् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.6.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.7.

⁴ रोचत इति सायं प्रातरक्षनान्यभिपूजयेत् । स्वदितमिति पित्र्येषु सम्पन्नमित्याभ्युदायिकेषु ।

Vasiṣṭha Dh. Su. III. 62-62.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11, Vishnu. Dh. Su. 68. 42.

⁵ Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.

⁶ अथोदनं दध्ना मधुना घृतेनाद्भिरिति समुदायुष्य हिरण्येनीषधस्य कुमारं प्राक्षयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.

Cf. Ap. Gr. Su. 6.16, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, Paras. Gr. Su. I. 19.8.

was offered at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes consisting of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹ Ordinarily they were expected to go out for begging alms because, according to the authors of the Sūtras it made them humble. But there was no restriction on the quantity of food a student should take.²

A householder is also advised to take two full meals consisting of 32 mouthfuls so that he may be able to perform his work efficiently.³ Āpastamba also allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two principal meals.⁴ A newly married couple was, as already stated, not allowed to use pungent or saline food for three days after marriage.⁵ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.⁶ He was expected to eat only once in the afternoon and that too not

¹ नानुवेद्यं भुञ्जीत । २२। तथाक्षारलवणमधुमांसानि । २३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 22-23.

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 13, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.23-24.,
Parsk. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.
12.

² भिक्षाचार्यं वृत्तिः स्यात् ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.2.

C.f. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.4.7., Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.52.

अष्टौ ग्रासा मुनेर्भक्ष्याः षोडशारण्यवासिनः ।

द्वाविंशतं गृहस्थस्यापरिमितं ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योनाशनंस्तु तपश्चरेत् ।

प्राणान्निहोत्रलोपेन ह्यवकीर्णो भवेत्तु सः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 17.10.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.2, II. 8.19.10, II. 4.9. 12-13, Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.10, Gaut. Dh. Su. 9.59, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.9.

सिद्धे सायं प्रातर्भूतमित्युक्त ओमित्युच्चैर्व्यात् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 3.20.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

⁵ तावुभौ तत्प्रभृति त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवणाशिनौ ब्रह्मचारिणौ भूमौ शयीयाताम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.15.

⁶ अपराह्णे स्नात्वापवसथिकंदम्पती भुञ्जीयाताम् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. II. 1.4.

अह्नि मा ॐ समैथुने वर्जयेत् ।

Katya. Sr. Su. II. 1.8.

C.f. Sankh. Sr. Su. III. 8.18.

to satiety when observing a fast.¹

Hermits generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.² They could include clarified butter and curds in their food, but not stale food, pungent condiments, saline preparations or meat.³ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.⁴ All the Sūtras lay down that the foresters should practise moderation in food. They should only take as much food as was necessary to maintain life.⁵

We also find some rules of etiquette in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc. He should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.⁶ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.⁷ A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.⁸

Some other rules of etiquette were that a person should not make a sound with his mouth, and should not speak while

¹ अपराह्णे व्रतोपायनीयमस्तीतिः सपिषाऽमुहिती ।

Kath. Sr. Su., Su. II. 1.10.

C.f. *Sabita* Pan. II. 2.11. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.9.

² ततो मूलं फलैः पर्णैस्तृणैरिति वर्तयन्श्चरेत् । शिलोञ्छेन वर्तयेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.23.2.

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.10.

C.f. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.15.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.

⁴ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13, Vasistha. Dh. Su. 6. 20.21, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32, II. 7.13.2.

⁶ कृतभूमी तु भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8.

न नावि भुञ्जीत । तथा प्रासादे ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.

The skin of an ox was used as a seat in this period.

गृहागतं पतिपुत्रशीलसम्पन्ना ब्राह्मण्योऽवरोप्यानडुहे अमप्युपवेशयन्ति ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 191-92, I. 11.31.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 18.

पाणिपादं प्रक्षाल्य . . . वाय्वतो दक्षिणा मुखो भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

⁸ सीतराच्छादनस्त्वं यन्नोपवीती भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.16.

taking his meals.¹ Biting off pieces from a cake with teeth² and drinking water standing or bending forward were also considered unmannerly.³ Eating in the company of one's wife and⁴ serving fats, salts and condiments in the hand were considered improper.⁵ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.⁶ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others were taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.⁷

Āpastamba forbids the use of dark grains such as *Māṣa* beans in a *Śrāddha*.⁸ Eating garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips and *Slosmātaka* fruit is also forbidden. The use of red sap flowing from incisions made in the bark of trees and of food preparations which have turned sour is interdicted.⁹

It appears that generally warm food fried in ghee was liked.¹⁰ Some people observed fasts while some were glut-

¹ न च मुखशब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

कृत्स्नं ग्रासं ग्रसीत न च मुख शब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4. 22-23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.

² वज्रिरूपस्य नापच्छिन्ध्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.17.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7-8.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.

⁴ भार्यया सह नाश्नीयादवीर्यवदपत्यं भवतीति वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते ।

Vas. Dh. Su. 12. 29.

⁵ हस्तदत्तास्तु ये स्नेहा लवणव्यञ्जनानि च दातारं नोपतिष्ठन्ति भोक्ता भुञ्जीत किल्बिषम् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁶ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29-30.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-3., Gaut. Dh. Su. 17.19.

⁸ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.

⁹ लक्ष्मणपलाण्डकेमुकगुञ्जनस्लेष्मातकवृक्षनिर्गसलोहितवस्त्रनक्षकाकावलीढशूद्रोच्छिष्ट-
भोजनेषु कुच्छ्रु अतिकुच्छ्र इतरेऽप्यन्यत्र मधुमांसफलविकर्षेण्यग्राम्यपशव विषयः । २८।
सन्धिनीक्षीरमवत्साक्षीरं गोमहिष्यजानामनिर्दशाहानामन्तर्नाय्युदकमपूपधानाकरम्भ-
सक्तुवटकतैलपायसशाकानि शुक्तानि वर्जयेत् अग्न्यांश्च क्षीरं यवपिष्टविकारान् । २९।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

¹⁰ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29.

तेन सपिष्मता ब्राह्मणं भोजयेत् ।

Ap. Gr. Su. III. 7.15.

tons.¹ The custom of feeding domestic servants seems to have been common.² The leavings of food (*Sarāva odana*) were perhaps given to scavengers. Food left in the vessel from which it was served (*Mallaka odana*) was probably given to the barber and food left behind in the cooking pot (*Kārpara odana*) to the cooks.³

At the time of *Upanayana* ceremony a common dinner was given to the playmates of the boy who was to be invested with sacred thread.⁴ When a householder entered a new house people feasted themselves with liquor, curds, honey, ghee and barley preparations.⁵ When a bride was brought to her husband's house some women enjoyed a feast with food articles, vegetables and liquor and performed a dance. Green or ripe fruits were given as a present to the bride.⁶

In connection with a *Śrāddha* the *Brāhmaṇas* were informed two days before, reminded the next day and again requested to grace the occasion on the actual day of the ceremony.⁷ *Vasiṣṭha* lays down that the invitation should be extended to three ascetics, or three householders who are well versed in Vedic studies, are not very aged and do not follow forbidden occupations. But *Baudhāyana* prescribes that ordinarily two *Brāhmaṇas* should be fed in a sacrifice and three in a *Śrāddha*. They were made to sit on seats made of grass.⁸ The food preparations were generally mixed with ghee and included sesamum and meat. In the absence

¹ *Vrata*—Pan. III. 1.31.

Andarika—Pan. V. 2.67.

Ghazmara }—Pan. III. 2. 160.
Admara }

² *Odanika, Śrāṇika, Āpūpika.*

³ Pan. Ag. (H), p. 129.

⁴ *Baudh. Gr. Su.*

⁵ *Paṭ. Gr. Su. III. 4.*

⁶ *Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.4.*

तस्मैशकलोटाञ्जलावाचयेयुः। फलानिवा।

Gobhila Gr. Su. II. 4.8.9.

⁷ पूर्वेषु निवेदनम् । ११ । अपरेषु द्वितीयम् । १२ । तृतीयमामन्त्रणम् । १३ ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17. 11-13.

⁸ *Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 15.*

पृथङ् मांसं चोदनं चापूपान्श्च अपयन्त्यन्यांश्च भक्ष्यविशेषांस्तस्यै सिद्धं सभानीया-
युम्नान् ब्राह्मणान् सुप्रशालितपाणिपादानपश्चाच्चमय सदभौषकलुप्तेष्वासनेषु द्वौ देवे त्रीन्
पित्र्ये एकैकमुभयत्र वा प्राङ्मुखानुपवेशत्युदङ्मुखान् वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.16.

of meat and ghee, vegetables and oil were used by poor people. But Āpastamba prohibits the use of oil cakes, wine, meat, dark grains and food obtained from a Śūdra.¹ The custom of offering a ball of flour to the manes seems to be very old as it is mentioned in the Nirukta and the Lātyāyana Sr. Su.²

Baudhāyana mentions drinking liquor as a peculiar custom of the Brāhmaṇas in the north and taking food cooked overnight and in the company of their wives, or uninitiated persons as a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the south.³

To sum up, in the Sūtras rice occupies the same important place among the foodgrains as barley. Some fine preparations such as *Prthuka* and *sanjyāva* were used. Of the pulses, besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulatttha*, *Āḍhaki* and gram had come into use. *Vaṭakas* and *Parpaṭas* were also prepared with pulses. Aryans were fully acquainted with the process of making sugarcane products in this period. Meat of animals, which were considered unhygienic, was avoided. Perhaps drinking was common but Brāhmaṇas avoided all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, only those prepared from cereals. Much stress was laid on the practice of the virtue of hospitality and purity of food. The notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading virtuous lives or following low professions was much developed in Madhyadeśa.

¹ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.11, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64. स्नेहवति त्वेवाश्वे पितृणां प्रीतिर्द्राघीयांसं च कालम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

नैयमिकं तु आढं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात्।१७। सपिर्मसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः।१८। अग्नावे तैलं शाकमिति।१९।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 17-19.

विलयनं मथितं पिण्याकं मधु मांसं च वर्जयेत्।१।

कृष्णधान्यं शूद्राभ्यं ये चाम्येनाद्यसंगताः।२।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18. 1-2.

तिलाश्वाद्धे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय यद्यपां संसर्जनाय।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.

खट्वः श्वाद्धे पवित्रं यदि मांसं यद्यस्थिमयं पात्रम्।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.65.

² Nirukta III. 4.

Lātya. Sr. Su. II. 10.4.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 3-4.

SECTION 2 (EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAIN WORKS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the Buddhist and Jain works food has been classified into four categories—soft food such as boiled rice, hard food such as roots and fruits, beverages and relishable articles.¹ But, the food grains, particularly rice was the staple food of the people in the north eastern India.² Rice was also provided at the public rest houses.³ Both the varieties of rice *Vrihi* (common variety) and *Sali* (fine variety) were equally popular.⁴ But it appears that *Sali* rice with its three famous varieties *Raktaśāli*, *Kalamāśāli* and *Mahāśāli* was the favourite food of the rich.⁵ *Kalamāśāli* was cultivated in Magadha and is recommended as the best food in

¹ Digh 30 (Lakkhana Sutta).

Soft food (*Bhojaniya*)^a in the Buddhist works includes boiled rice (*odana*), boiled mixture of barley and beans (*kanmūsa*), parched barley meal (*sakka*), meat (*māṃsa*) and fish (*maccha*) while hard food (*khādaniya*)^b includes roots, stalks, leaves flowers and fruit.

(a) Vin. IV. 92, J. 127, J. III. 349, J. 339.

(b) Vin. Mahāvagga VI. 16, Bhikkhu. Pati V. 35, Bhikkhuni Pati IV 120.

In the Jain works the four categories of food articles are called *asana* (soft food), *Khāṇa* (hard food), *Pāna* (beverages) and *Sāma* (relishable articles).

Aca. II. 1.228, 523, Nisi III. 1, Naya. I. 72, Vipak. I. 38.

² *Sāli* and *Vrihi*—Majjhima I. 57, Panna. I. 23.40, Brhatk. Su. II. 1, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, I. 340, 115, 543, Thera G. 381.

In the south also rice must have been the staple food grain as it was exported from India to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word 'Arisi' (rice).

T.R. Sesh Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.

³ Milind. I. 10, II. 5, J. 31.

⁴ *Vrihi*—J. I. 340, 115, 543, Thera. G. 381.

Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 2-3.

Sāli—J. 325, 512, III. 144, Milind I. 157.

Thera. G. 381, Digh. I. 105, II. 293, Vin. IV. 264,

Majjhim. I. 57, Ang. IV. I. 32.145, III. 49, IV. 108,

Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Sutra II. 1, Panna. I. 23-24.

सालीनामोदनं भुञ्जे सुचि मांसुपसेचनम् ।

J. III. 144.

⁵ *Raktaśāli* (red variety) J. 73, Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301, Milind. 252 calls it *Sālihitaka*.

Kalamāśāli—It was cultivated in Magadha. (Thera G. 208).

C.f. Uva. I. 8.35, Sutra II. 18.30.

Mahāśāli—Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

Gandhaśāli—(Fragrant variety) Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

the Uva.¹ Rice was cooked with choicest flavours.² A mixture of rice and sesamum was very popular.³ Boiled rice was generally liked hot.⁴ Next to boiled rice the favourite preparation of rice was a gruel (*Yāgu*) which is highly praised both in the Buddhist and the Jain works.⁵ Parched rice was sweetened before eating. Besides *Prthuka* and ordinary cakes (*apīpa*), delicious ones (*Saṣkuli*) were prepared from rice.⁶ Sometimes cakes were pre-

¹ कलम सालि ओदणेणं अवसेसं ओदणविहिं पच्चवत्ताति ।

Uva. I. 35.

² नानाग्नरसम् सालि भत्तम् पङ्के हीति ।

J. 450.

नानाग्नं रसेहि सूप व्यञ्जनेहि भत्तपातिम् सज्जेत्वा ।

J. 496.

³ *Tilodana*—J. III. 425.

⁴ भत्तं सम्पादेत्वा सूपम्व्यञ्जसम्पन्नम् उण्ह भत्तम् वङ्केत्वा ।

J. 212.

⁵ यागुं देन्तो आयागुं देति, वण्णम देति, सुखं देति, बलं देति, पटिभानम देति, यागुपीता खुदम् पटिह्वनति, पिपासम् विनोदेति, वातम् अनुलोमेति, वल्लियम् सोधेति, आमावसेसम् पोचन्ति । इमे खो ब्राह्मण देशा निशंसा यागु याजति ।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 24-5.

उदर बाता बाधो ते कटुलाय यागु या फासु होतीति सामम् तिलम् पि तण्डुलम् मुग्गम् पि पञ्जां पेत्वा अन्तो वासेत्वा अन्तो सोमम् पचित्वा भगवतो उपनामेति पिबतु भगवा ते कटुला यागुमूति ।

Vin. VI. 17.1.

C.f. Vin. Mahavagga (H) VI. 4-3, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 298.10, VI. 25.3, 33.3, J. 109.

Kaṭṭhapañjā was some good variety of gruel as it is recommended in the Uva.

कट्ठ पिञ्जाते अवसेसं पिञ्ज विहिं पच्चवत्ताति ।

Uva. I. 33.

According to the commentary it was a decoction of some pulses such as Mudga or other corn or of rice fried in ghee.

मुग्गादि यूषः घृतसहित तण्डुल पेया वा ।

⁶ *Jhāmabbatta*—(parched rice).

ओदन काञ्जिक उष्णम् भत्तम् विधास तिणम् खादपेत्वा कुण्डक यागुञ्च पायेत्वा पण्डित्वा ।

J. 254.

C.f. J. IV. 214, 281.

Madhūlāja (Parched barley sweetened with sugar).

मच्छ मांसं फलां फलाहि च एव मधुलाजं सक्खरा पानकादीहि च परिजग्गिंसु ।

J. 339.

कच्चनलट्टके मधुलाजे सक्खरोदकाञ्च दापेत्वा ।

J. 476.

pared from broken rice grains. Scum of boiled rice was also used as food.¹

Besides rice, barley and wheat were also used but they were not so popular.² Barley continued to be parched and ground into meal.³ Cakes of wheat are frequently mentioned.⁴ Some other inferior cereals such as *Kodrava*, *Syāmāka*, *Cīnaka* and *Priyangu* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁵ Cakes prepared

Pāva—(sweet cakes)

पूव सखलि आदीनि चैव फला दीनि च हरन्तो ।

J. 252.

Pinda. Nir. 557.

Pibuya (*Prībuka*)

पिहयं वा बहुहयं वा भुज्जियं वा मधुं वा चाउलं वा चाउलपल्लवं वा ।

Aca. II. 1. 527.

Sakkuḷi (*Saṅkuḷi*)

पिंडं वा लोयं वा असणं वा, पाणं वा, खीरं वा, दधि वा, घयं वा, गुलं वा, तेल्लं वा, सककुलिं वा फाणियं वा पूयं वा सिहरणि वा

Aca. I. 45. 566.

Bṛhatk. I. 2.8, Das. V. 71.

¹ *Kaṇapāva*—(cakes prepared from broken rice grains) J. 109.

Āyāma—(scum of boiled rice) Uttara XV.

² Barley

पुडबी साली जवा चैव हिरणं पसुभिस्तह ।

पडि पुणं नाल मेगस्स इदं विज्जा तवं चरे ।

Uttara IX. 49.

Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, J. I. 373, II. 110, III. 216, IV. 580.

Wheat

तिल तण्डुला मुदग माषा जवा गोधूम मसूराः शालयः ।

Vin. (Mahavagga) VI. 16.33.

Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7. 13, Bṛhatk Bha. I. 828.

³ *Saktu*—*Āva*. Cu. II. 317.

Mantha—Aca. II. 1.527.

⁴ *Khajjaka*—Cakes prepared with wheat flour.

Sometimes they were coated with sugar. It seems they were very much liked.

अहं यागुं दातुं न सक्खिसामि खज्जकम्प न दत्तामीति सण्हण कुण्डक बहोपरवा ।

J. 109.

J. 194.

धयपुण्णेहि खंडखज्जेहि वा अबसेसं भक्खणविहि पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 34.

⁵ *Kodrava*—(*Paspalum scorbiculatum*). It was generally eaten by the poor. Vin. Ma. II. 211.14, Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Syāmāka—Digh. I. 166., Majjhima. I. 78, Angu. I. 295, II. 206.

Sutt. Np. II. 1, J. 346, S.B.B. V. 110, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14, J. III. 144, Samyutt. N. II. 2.1.

with some inferior grains are mentioned in the Buddhist and Jain works as the food of the poor people.¹ Of the pulses the most popular were *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Masūra*, (lentil), *Kulattba* (horsegram), *Kalāya* (pea) and *Āḍbaki*.² Some other varieties are also mentioned.³ The most common preparation was a soup (*Yāsa*

Cinaka—(*Panicum miliacium*).

कोद्रवो वा श्यामको वा चित्रको वा प्रियङ्गुर्वा ।

Vin. Mv. II. 211.14.

Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Priyaṅgu—J. 546, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14., Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 3.

Varaka—a variety of *Priyaṅgu* is also mentioned. Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 2.

¹ *Kummasa*—J. 415, Ghatika Sutta 81, Raṭṭhapāla Sutta. 82, S.B.B. V. 177, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 269.15, 277.18, Majjhima. II. 176,

Cake prepared with inferior grains were also used.

अन्तरापणतो वत्तारो कुम्मासपिण्डे गहेत्वा

J. 415.

² *Mudga*

यदि वा मुग्गयूसम् यदि वा कुलत्थयूसम्

यदि वा कलाययूसम् यदि वा हरेणुयूसम् ।

S.B.B. V. 176.

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 115, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Māṣa—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 546, Bhag. XXI. 2, Su. II. 1. तिलतण्डुलामुद्गमापायवागोधूममसूराःशालयः ।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33.

Masūra—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kulattba—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kalāya—S.B.B. V. 176, J. 176, From J. I. 176 we learn that it was given to horses.

Āḍbaki—Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

³ *Caṇaka* (gram)—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Hareṇu (a kind of pea)—S.B.B. V. 176, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 245, J. V. 405, VI. 537.

Other food grains mentioned in the Jain works are :

Akuṣṭhaka (modern kuttu) Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Sapa (*Linum usitatissimum*) Ibid

Nippāva (*Nisipāva*) Ibid

Alisandaga—a grain coming from Alexandria (a variety of chickpea).

Ibid

Atasi (linseed) Ibid

Pālimantbaka Ibid

Kurumbba (safflower) Ibid

Rāḷaga (the resin of *Shorea Rubusta*) Ibid

जे जह्णामए केरपुरिसे कलममसूरतिलमुग्गमासनिष्कावकुलत्थयलिसंदपलिमंथ गमदि

एहि ।

Sutra II. 18.30.

or *Sāpa*) but round balls of pulses fried in clarified butter were common. These round balls were made sour by fermentation. *Parpaṭas* (very thin cakes) were also prepared with pulses.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains, milk and its products were important articles of food both for the Buddhists and the Jains.² The Buddha himself allowed them to his followers.³ Sometimes some pungent drugs were added to milk so that it might be used as a cure for cold.⁴ In addition to the milk of cows and buffaloes that of camels and goats was also used.⁵ Milk rice was a favourite

सालिबीहिगोधूमज्जवाकलममूरतिलमुम्भामासणिप्पावकुलत्थञ्जलितंद स ईण एलिषा।
अथसीकुसुंभकोद्वकंगूरालगवरट्ट कोदूसासणसरिसवमूलगवीअमाइआदेस भेएणं।

Panna. I. 23-40.

¹ *Yāsa*—भवति रसगन्धयोसो।

Vin. Mv. I. 298.1.

Sāpa—कलयसूहेण वा मुम्भमासमूएण वा अथसेसं सूपविहिं पच्चक्खाति।

Uva. I. 36.

यागु यो पचन्ति भत्तानि पचन्ति सूपानि सम्मादेन्ति मंसानि कोट्टेन्ति।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.3.

Cooked pulses were also called *Aparappa*.

अपरणं नाम सूपेय्यम्।

Anguttara. IV. 112.

Parpaṭa—Mmk. 147.4, Aca. II. 1. 327, Panna. I, Aca. 614.

Vaṭaka—(round balls).

सेहं व दालियं वेहिं अथसेसं जीमणविहिं पच्चक्खाति।

Uva. I. 40.

C.f. Uva. I. 38.

² सेय्यथापि चित्तगवा सीरं, सीरमहादधि, दधिमहा नवनीतं, न्वनीतमहा सप्पि, सप्पिमहा सप्पिमण्डो।

Digh. N. Potthapāda Sutta. 34.

Vin. Mv. (H) VI. 6.3, Vin. I. 243, II. 301, Majjhima. I. 343, Ang. II. 207, Puggala Pannati 36, Ang. II. 95, Digh. I. 201, Dhamma. Ti. 198, Vin. Mv. VI. 34.2; J. I. 296, 388, 457.

³ The milk products which the Buddha allowed to his followers were milk, curds, butter milk, butter and ghee. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.3.

इमानि खो पञ्च भेदज्जानि सेय्यथीदम् सप्पि नवनीतम् तेलम् मधु फणितम् भेसज्जानि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁴ तिलिणभेसज्जपरिवारितं सीरं पिबन्ति।

J. 127.

⁵ Av. Cu. II. 319.

food¹ and the Jains used dried pieces of cloth moistened with milk, for drinking water mixed with this dried milk.²

Of the milk products curds were the most important.³ From curds was prepared the favourite dish *Sikharipi* by mixing crystal sugar and some pungent spices.⁴ Fresh butter and clarified butter were much used.⁵ In the Uva. cow's ghee is regarded as the best especially its creamy part (*Maṇḍa*).⁶ Butter milk and a preparation of it called *Sāga* were in common use.⁷

MEAT PREPARATIONS

From the Buddhist works we know that the number of non-vegetarian people was considerable.⁸ We read of a meat market in Mithilā,⁹ and of slaughter houses¹⁰ and fishermen selling fish at other places.¹¹ Venison was sold at cross roads outside Bana-

¹ मत्स्यं पले पत्य तण्डुलाञ्च चतुर्भागं खीरस्त अञ्चरं सक्खराय, करण्डकम् मधुस्स, एकञ्च पचनभाजनं देहि ।

Sudhābhojana J. No. 535.

J. I. 162, III. 205, Nisi IX. 511.

² *Kholas*

Brhatk. Bha. I. 2882, 2892.

³ पिण्डए वा लोयए वा खीरं वा दहि वा सप्पि वा नवणीनं वा तेल्ले वा फाणियं वा पूवे वा सक्कुली वा सिहरिणी वा ।

Brhatk. Su. I. 2.8.

Digh. Pothapāda Sutta 54, Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21. J. 123.277, Aca. II. 1, Nisi. VIII. 18.

⁴ Aca. II. 1.4.247.

⁵ जो भिक्खु रणो सत्तिषाण जाव भिसीताणं सणिहि सणि वियाओ खीरं वा दहि वा नवणीयं वा, सप्पि वा, गुलं वा, खंडं वा, सकरं वा मंछडियं वा अणयरं वा भोषणं जावं पडिग्गहेइ ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁶ नत्तथ गोघय मंडेणं अवसेसं चयविहि पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 37.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21, Vin. Culla. IV. 45, J. 106, 130, 154, 186, 277, Nisi. III. 18.

⁷ *Sāga*—A preparation seasoned with butter milk such as *labikhaṭṭa* etc.

J. C. Jain, p. 123.

⁸ चतुप्पदम् सकुञ्जवापि मांसम् सूदेहि रथं सुकटं सुनिदिठलम् ।

सुधेव इन्दो परिभुञ्जीयान हित्वा कथो इको रोमसी अरञ्जे ।

J. 537.

J. IV. 370, V. 489.

⁹ J. 408.

¹⁰ Vin. Mv. VI. 10, Vin. Culla. V. 104, J. V. 408, VI. 62, 546.

¹¹ नानामच्छमांसविकतिपरिवारभोजनम् सम्पादेत्वा थोकं भोजनानि विचारित्वा उभुमं पलापेन्तो अट्ठासि ।

J. 292.

Ang. N. III. 301-303, J. 21, 34, 114.

ras¹ and there were some villages inhabited by hunters.² Then meat and fish are frequently mentioned with other eatables in the Buddhist works.³ Venison, pork and flesh of fowls seem to be very popular⁴ but flesh of oxen, *godhā* and birds was also used as food.⁵ Some people killed sheep, goats, poultry and swine in sacrifices⁶ but flesh of monkeys, pigeons and beef was also eaten.⁷ Kings killed many animals in hunting and enjoyed their flesh.⁸ Thus it seems that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had no objection to taking meat. We know that some ascetics lived on snippets of hides.⁹ We also learn from the Jain sources that many birds, fish and animals were killed and their flesh served on festive occasions.¹⁰ Some people even took beef and eggs.¹¹

¹ J. III. 49, V. 458, VI. 62.

² J. II. 182, IV. 252, 354, 337, 341, V. 41.

³ J. 339, 418, 436.

Mahāvagga (H) VI. 4.4.

⁴ Venison—J. 420.

Pork—Nyagrodha J. 12, Kumra J. 27, J. 186.

Fowls—

सा कुक्कुटमांसञ्च भक्षञ्च सम्पदित्वा ।

J. 254.

Sri J. 248, Nyagrodha J. 444.

⁵ Oxen—J. 144.

Godhā—सिनिद्ध सम्भारयुतं अम्बिलालम्बलम् गोधामांसम् ।

J. 138.

Birds—A captured bird cries 'what fate for one caught in a net except the cruel spit.'

कानु पासेन बद्धस्स गहरञ्जा महानसा ।

J. 33.

J. 337.

⁶ J. 50, J. 142, 489, 362.

⁷ Monkeys—Mahākapi. J. 402.

Pigeons—अथ अस्स एक दिवसं पच्चन्त गामवासिनो पारापतमांसं अमिसं खरित्वा अदंसु ।

J. 277.

Beef—Langusṭha J. 144, Gahapati J. 199.

⁸ J. 337.

⁹ Kassapa Sihanāda J.

¹⁰ Sutra II. 18.21, Aca. II. 1.4 245, 247, Bhag. I. 8.46.

Uttara XII. 7, XIX. 64, Panna. I. 33, Vipaka, VIII. 46, 47, Vipaka.

VIII. 10.

Suriyapannati. 51, p. 151.

¹¹ देवानुधिया मम कोल घरि एहि गोवए हितो कल्ला कल्लि दुवे दुवे गोण पोयए उद्वेहता मम उवणेह ।

Uva. VIII. 12.

तएणं से तिरिए महाणसिए बहुणं जलयर थलयर खइयर मंसाइ कम्पाणी कप्पियाइ करेइ तं जहा सण्ह खडियाणिय बट्ठ दीह रहस्स हिमपक्काणिय कात्ताणिय हरंगाणिय

We read also of ascetics who lived on the flesh of elephants.¹ In certain circumstances even the Jains, who are so particular about the protection of life, took meat. In the country of Sindhu many people lived on flesh diet.²

Flesh roasted on spits is frequently mentioned.³ Meat of sheep dressed with salt and pepper and fried in oil is mentioned in the Sūtra.⁴ Venison, partridges and fowls were roasted on live charcoal.⁵ Meat soup was also common.⁶ Ghee, curds and spices were used in cooking meat.⁷ The flesh of a *Godbā* dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish.⁸ Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brāhmanas.⁹ Sometimes a meat soup was prepared with

महिष्ठणिय आमल रसियाणिया मुहिया कबिठ्ठा दालिमरसिया मच्छरस तलियाणिया,
भज्जिया, सोल्लिया उवक्खडावेइत्ता अण्ण्ये बह्वे मच्छरस एय, एण्णज्ज रस एय, तित्तिर रस
एय, जाव मवूर रस एय—उवण्णइ।

Vipaka. VIII. 10.

कुकड ब्रंडे एय जलवललेचर भाईण्णंइए कंदुसुय भज्जणाए सुय इंगाले सुय तलित्ति
भज्जति सोल्लित्ति।

Vipaka. III. 18.

Vipaka. VIII. 46.47, Uttara XXII. 14.

¹ Sūtra. II. 6, X. 92.

² Bhag. XV., Nisī. Cu. 134, at 16.

³ तुहं पियाइं मंसाइं खण्ठाइं सोल्लगाणिय।
सावि ओमि स मंसाइ अग्नि वण्णाइं णेगसो।

Uttara. XIX. 70.

C.f. Sūtra. II. 6.

दुस्स मे खेत्तपालस्य रत्तिभत्तम् अपा भत्तम्।
मांससूला च द्वे गोधा एकञ्च दधि वारकम्।

J. 316.

⁴ J. 33, 539.

⁵ तित्तिरकुक्कुटादयो मारेत्वा मांसम् अंगारेसु पचित्वा।

J. 512.

C.f. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.

⁶ *Sūpa* or *Upasacana*

सो तेसम् सूप व्यञ्जन त्थाय।

J. I. 420.

यागु यो पचय भत्तानि पक्ख सूपानि सम्पादेय। उत्तरिभंगानि सम्पादेय इति।

Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1.

भत्तम् सुचिम् मांसुपसेचनम्।

J. 398.

⁷ सप्पिदधिकटुकभण्डादीनि।

J. I. 325.

C.f. J. I. 420.

⁸ सिनिद्ध संभारयुत्तम् अम्बिलालम्बलम्गोधामांसम्।

J. 138.

⁹ J. 345, VI. 238.

Robita fish and eaten with great relish with *Sāli* rice.¹ There are many references to seasoned meat both in the Buddhist and Jain works.² Meat fried in oil and salted and spiced with pepper is frequently mentioned in the Jain literature.³ Some other preparations of meat are mentioned in the *Vipāka*, III. p. 46.⁴

The Buddhists did not believe that purity comes through food.⁵ It is stated that those who take life are at fault but not the persons who eat flesh.⁶ Meat and fish are invariably included in the eatables in the Buddhist works.⁷ Buddha preferred non-violence to violence.⁸ He condemned animal sacrifices,⁹ but he did not insist on his followers being strict vegetarians. He wanted to restrict the killing of animals,¹⁰ so he advised his followers not to take meat preparations if an animal or fish was killed expressly for them.¹¹ No follower of his was allowed to kill an animal for food in normal times¹² but meat of

¹ विन्न रोहितमच्छरसम् नवघतमिस्सकम्सालिभसम् ।

J. 292.

² J. III. 100, 378, VI. 62, *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22.

³ *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22, *Sutra*. II. 6, 19.

⁴ *Saṅkhaṇḍiya*, *Vaṭṭakhaṇḍiya*, *Dibakhaṇḍiya*, *Rahassaṅkhaṇḍiya*, *Himapakka*, *Jammapakka*, *Vegapakka*, *Mānḍapakka*, *Kāla*, *Heraniga*, *Mahijja*.

Vipāka, III, p. 46.

⁵ Vin. Mv. I. 80.

⁶ *Suttanipāta* II. 2. 3-9, J. 246.

⁷ Vin. IV. 83, J. 339, 418, 436.

⁸ Bhikkhu. *Patimokkha* V. 61, *Samyutta*. III. 1.9.

⁹ न तेन अरियो होति येन पाणानि हितसि ।

अहिंसा सम्ब पाणानं अरियोति पवुच्चसि ।

Dhammapada. 270.

ततो च देवा पितरो इन्द्रो असुर रक्खसा ।

अधम्मो इति पणखब्बुं य सत्त्वं निपति गये ।

Sutta. *Nipata*. II. 7.27.

C.f. Vin. Mv. I. 36.

¹⁰ Even in this period, it appears that animals were not killed on Sabbath day (*Uposatha divasena*). J. 220, Vin. III. 58.

¹¹ न हि भिक्खवे जानम् उद्दिक्कटम् मांसं परिमुञ्चिस्सव्वम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.141.

Buddha considered *dr̥ṣṭa* (seen), *śr̥ṇta* (heard) and *pariṇāhita* (suspected) meat inedible.

Jivaka Suttānta. 55.2.1.5.

C.f. Vin. *Calla*. VII. 3.15, *Majjhima* (H) 55.

¹² न च मयं जीवित हेतुं पि

सञ्चिच्च पाणं जिवितं बोरो पेय्याम ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.

wild animals could be cooked in times of distress or in some extraordinary illness.¹

Jain monks did not accept any food article which involved *biṃśā*.² It was for this reason that they always avoided taking meals at night.³ Jinadatta is said to have avoided meat preparations even when they were prescribed by a physician.⁴ But in extreme distress some of them had no objection to taking them.⁵

The Buddha and Mahāvīra impressed upon their followers the need of avoiding slaughter of animals and succeeded to such a great extent in changing the attitude of the people that even Brahmanical works such as the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti prescribe sacrifices where no slaughter of animals is involved.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was in common use.⁷ It had three varieties—of

¹ Vin. III. 58, Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.10, 23.10, 23.14.

पोत्यनिक गहेत्वा उरुमांसम् उक्कन्तित्वा दासिया अदासि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.3.

सो सुकर सुनम् गत्वा आमक मांसम् खादि आमक लोहितम् पिबि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.10.

Scholars are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *Sūkara-maddava*, the food article, which caused Buddha's death. But there seems to be greater likelihood that it was a fungus liable to poison the human body than boar's flesh.

(A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII).

² सेभिवसू च सेजं मंसं व मच्छं व भजिज्जमाणं पेहाए तिल्लपूयं व आए साए उववत्तडि-ज्जमाणं पेहाए नो खद्धं उव संकविनु ओ भा सिज्जा नत्तय गिलाण पीसाए।

Aca. II. 1.3.

सासिमाओ अविदल कडाओ अतिरिच्छ च्छिमाओ अवाच्छिमाओ तरुणियं वा छिवा-डि अणभिवक्त मभाभिज्जलं पेहाए अफसुयं अणे सणिज्जति।

Aca. II. 1.525.

³ उव उल्लं धीय संसत्तं पाणा निव्वडिया महि।

दिया ताई विवज्जेज्जा राओ तत्थ कहुं चरे?

एयं च वोसं ददुणं नायपुत्तेण भासियं।

सव्वाहारं न भुंजेति निग्गथा राहभोयणं।

Dasa. VI. 25-26.

⁴ Av. Cu. II. p. 202, Sutra. II. 6.37.42.

⁵ Aca. Ti. II. 1.4.247, c.f. I. 9.274.

Byhatk. Bha. 1.12.39, Das v. Su. V. 1.73. Nisi. Cu. 16, p. 1034.

Mahāvīra himself is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. (Bhag. XV.)

⁶ This may also have led to a considerable improvement in the preparation of vegetarian dishes.

See B.C. Law, Mahāvīra, p. 55.

⁷ Vin. Mv. IV. 17, J. I. 154, 334.

small bees, of big bees and of a third variety called *Kuṭṭiya*.¹ But sugarcane was the most important source of sweet ingredients.² Juice of sugarcane was also extracted with a machine and was used in plenty.³ Puṇḍravardhana was noted for its sugarcane crop.⁴ We learn that flour and ashes of dried sugarcane were used in preparing *gūḍa* from the juice of sugarcane.⁵ It was so important an article of food that even the Buddha included it among the food articles which he allowed to his followers.⁶ *Phāṇita* and sugar were other important products of sugarcane which were in common use.⁷ Sugarcandy (*Matsyaṇḍikā*) is also mentioned in the Jain canon.⁸

¹ Av. Cu. II. 319, Aca. II. 1.4, Uttara. XIX. 70.

² Vin. IV., Anguttara. III. 76, IV. 179, Milind. 46, Dhamma Ti. IV. 199, Petavatthu Ti. 124, J. I. 339, IV. 114, 466, Uttara. Ti. II, p. 23.

³ J. I. 339, II. 240, IV. 160-61, VI. 339, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.6, Uttara. XIX. 53, Bṛhatk Bha. Pi. 575, Bhag. XXI. 5.

⁴ Tandula Ti., p. 2(4).

There were two kinds of sugarcane *Puṇḍra* (pale yellow) and *Kajali* (dark purple). The former gave its name to Puṇḍradeśa (Bengal to the east of the Ganges) and the latter to Kajolaka (Bengal to the west of the Ganges).

See Arch. Survey of India Report 1879-80, Bihar and Bengal Vol. XV, p. 38, quoted by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ गुले पिट्टमि छारिकमि पमिलपन्ते।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.1.

J. I. 123, Av. Cu. II. 319, Vin. Mv. VI. 25-27.

Also see Appendix II.

⁶ इमानि लो पच भेसज्जानि सेय्यधीदम् सपिनवनीतम् तेलम् मधु फाणितम् भेसज्जानि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

The Buddha allowed *Gūḍa* to sick persons and water of *Gūḍa* to healthy persons.

Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.6.

Cf. Aca. II. 1.4.

⁷ *Phāṇita*—See (6) above.

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

अधम्मिकेसु तेलमधुफाणितादीनिपि वनमूलफलाफलानि पि अमधुरानि होन्ति निरोजानि।

J. I. 334.

Cf. Vin. II. 177, Digh. I. 1.41, Vimana. 35-40, J. I. 340, 386, Aca. II. 1.4.

Sarkarā

सपिना सार्धम् सक्खरचुण्णम् यावदत्थम् खादित्वा।

J. 442.

Cf. J. I. 154, III. 110, IV. 114, 379, V. 384, Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.

⁸ जो भिक्खू रणो खदियाणं खीरं वा दहि वा नवणियं वा सपि वा गुलं वा खंडं वा सकरं वा मण्डियं वा अणत्तरं वा भोवणं जायं पडिग्गहेइ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Cf. Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.

Of the sweet preparations sweet fried rice (*Madbulāja*) and sweet balls (*Madbugolaka* or *Modaka*) were in common use.¹ In the Jain works we come across some fine sweets such as *Maṇḍaka* (cakes stuffed with molasses and ghee), *Madhuśrīṣaka* (also a kind of sweet cake), *Gulalāvaniya*, *Ghayapūṇa* (the modern *ghesara*), *Sibakessara* and *Moraṇḍaka* (sweets prepared from inspissated milk and shaped like the eggs of peacock)². Some of these may however, be later preparations as they are not mentioned in the early Jain canon nor in the contemporary Brahmanical or Buddhist literature.

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

The Vinaya Piṭaka mentions five varieties of salts—sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt.³ Sea salt was prepared by boiling sea water.⁴ The Jain works mention two other varieties—*Sawarcala* and *Pāṇisukṣāra* (earth salt).⁵ Other spices used in seasoning food were pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger and turmeric.⁶ Mus-

¹ *Madbulāja*—See p. 59, f. n. 6 above.

Madbugolaka—Vin. Mv. I. 43, VI. 25.3.

² *Maṇḍaka*—Nisi Cu. II, p. 695.

Madhuśrīṣaka—Mmk. 48.8.

Gulalāvaniya—Golpāpadī in Gujrati.

(see J.C. Jain, p. 123).

Ghayapūṇa—

धयपुण्णेहि खंडखज्जेहि वा अयसेसं भक्षनविहि पचचखाति।

Uva. I. 34.

Sibakessara—Antagadodasao, p. 10.

Moraṇḍaka—Bṛhatk. Bha. I. 3281.

³ Vin. Mv. VI. 8.

⁴ *Lopakāra*—J. VI. 206.

Storing salt in a horn vessel was not permissible.

Vin. Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁵ *Daśavaikalika*. Su. III. 8.

⁶ Long pepper (*pippali*).

पिप्पलि वा, पिप्पलिवृण्णवा, मिरियं वा, मिरियचुन्नं वा सिंगबेरं वा, सिंगबेरचुन्नं वा पडिगाहिज्जा।

Aca. 602.

Cf. Vin. Mv. VI. 6, J. I. 325, Jiva. III. 37.

Pepper (*marica*)

तण्डुलसपिपिधिजीरकमरिचादीनि आहारोपेत्वा।

J. 277.

तं परिवारेत्वा हरीलकी आमलकी मरिचगच्छो च अहोसि।

J. 512.

J. 325, 455, 512, 277, Vin. I, 201, Vin. Mv. VI. 6, Aca. II. 1.8, 268.

tard and cloves were also used.¹ Some condiments were also used as the word *Vyañjana* is frequently mentioned.² A dish prepared with fruits is called *Śāḍava* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.³ Vinegar and sour gruel were in common use.⁴ Some delicacies of food were taken after the meals and are called *Uttaribbāṅgam*.⁵

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Of the oilseeds sesamum was the most important article of food.⁶ Cakes of *tila* seed (*Saṅkuli*) were very much liked.⁷ Some of the monks were so fond of cakes prepared with sesamum that once a Buddhist monk specially requested a householder for it and had to express his regret for doing so in the assembly of monks.⁸ Sesamum powder and sesamum *Parpaṭas* were also

Cumin (*Jiraka*)—

सिगिवेर जीरकादीनि पिसित्वा ।

J. I. 274.

J. I. 244, 274, 42, II. 363, 225, V. 12, VI. 536, Pinda Nir. 54.

Dryginger (*Syāṅgavera*)—

अनुजानामि भिक्षवे मूलानि भेसज्जानि हलिदम् सिगिवेरम् वचम् वचत्यम् अतिविसम् कटुकरोहिणिम् उशीरम् बहुमुत्तकम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 201.

J. I. 274, 375, 42, Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Bhag. VIII. 3, Panna. I. 23-31, 43-44.

Asafoetida (*Hingū*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 7, Vin. I. 201.

Turmeric (*Haridra*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Vin. I. 201, Anguttara. III. 230, 233, J. V. 89. Majjhima I. 127, Samyutta. II. 101, Pinda Nir. 54.

¹ Mustard (*Sarapa*)

भसकारको वेधेन गत्वा अल्लसिगिवेरञ्च सिद्धत्थके च पिसित्वा पृति तथेन मद्दित्वा ।

J. 375.

Aca. II. 1.8.268.

Cloves (*Lavana*)—Pinda Nir. 54.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 33, 17, Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1, VIII. 4.5, Anguttara. III. 49, Vin. II. 214, J. 42, 212.

³ Vin. IV. 2.59.

⁴ Vinegar (*ambila*)—J. I. 244, 304, II. 263, III. 225, IV. 2.1.

Sourgruel (*Kāñjika*)—Vin. I. 203. It is also called *Sovitraka*, Vin. I. 210, Samyutta II. 3, J. 254, J. 42.

उदरपाता बाधो होति सो लोण सोवीरकम् अपाधि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 163.

⁶ Vin. II. 214, III. 160, IV. 259, Culla (H) IV. 2.1, VIII. 2.2.

⁷ Vin. Mv. VI. 16.33, Samyutta. I 170, Anguttara I. 130, IV. 108, J. 167, 195, 423, II. 248-49, 301, 325, III. 425, 503, 537, 53, VI. 325, J. 546, Vin. Mv. VI. 34, Culla. IV. 45, I. 183, Thera Ga. I. 927, Brhatk. II. 1, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II.2, Nisi. III. 18, Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Panna. I. 23-40, Aca. II. 1.527.

⁸ Culla. I. 183, J. 346. Dhammapada Tī. II. 7.5, Aca. I. 15. 132.

⁹ Culla. I. 183.

used.¹ Sesamum oil was used by poor people.² Mustard and its powder were also used.³ Its oil may also have been used. Oil was also extracted from castor seed, linseed and safflower.⁴ Oil cake was also used as a food article by some ascetics.⁵ Besides vegetable oils, animal fats were also used as food. The Buddha himself allowed to the monks the use of the fats of a bear, a fish, an alligator, a pig and an ass in case of illness.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Buddha allowed his followers to eat fruits and appointed a distributor of fruits.⁷ Four methods of ripening green fruit, described in Jain canon, were covering them with straw, heating them, mixing them with ripe fruit and allowing them to ripen on the tree.⁸

Some of the common fruits were jujube, mango, rose apple, bread fruit, *Srīgāṭaka* (*trapabispinosa*), *Āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), plantain, cocoanut, dates, *Bilva*, palm fruit, *Priyāla*, *Kapittha*, *Tinduka* (*Diospyros Embryopletres*), grapes, *Parīṣaka*, *Karamarda* (*carissa carandas* Lim.) and citrus.⁹

¹ *Tilapittṭha* and *Tilapappada*—Aca. II. 1.327.

² Culla. IV. 45., J. I. 340, 325, Vin. Mv. VI. 16, VI. 34.21.

³ *Sarṣapa* Suttanipāṭa 625, 631, p. 122, Dhamma. I. 93. Samyutta II. 137, J. VI. 174, 536.

Sarṣapakutṭa—Vin. I. 205, II. 151.

⁴ *Eranda* (castor seed) J. I. 109, 423, II. 44, V. 354, 417, VI. 529.

Atarī (Linseed)—Bhag. XXI.

Kusumbha (Safflower)—J.C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ S.B.B. V., p. 10 (*Kassapasihanādasutta*).

⁶ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे वसानि भेसज्जानि अछवसम् मछवसम्, सुसावसम्, सूकर-वसम्, गदम वसम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 1.2.

⁷ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे अदीजं निव्वतवीजं अकतकप्पं फलं परिमुञ्जितुम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 21.

The Buddha allowed five kinds of fruits e.g. mango fruits the skin of which had been removed by fire, of which the skin had been removed with a knife or nails, one without a kernal stone, and one having a kernal stone.

Culla. V. 7.3.

Culla. (H) VI. 6.7.

⁸ Jagdish Chandra Jain, p. 93.

⁹ Jujube—J. II. 260, 547, S.B.B. V. 56

Mango—

अम्बवनेन एव अम्बवनम्, जम्बुवनेन जम्बुवनम्, लज्जुवनेन एव लज्जुवनम्, नालिकेर-सज्जादियेन नालिकेरसज्जादियम्।

We know from the Buddhist works that vegetables were

तस्मिन् पत्र दीपके सवञ्जातानि सासिउच्छुकदतिग्रम्बजम्बूपनसनालिकेरादीनि विविधानि फलाफलानि अस्मिन् ।

J. 466.

अंबसरदुयं वा, कविटसरदुयं वा, दाडिमसरदुयं वा, बिल्लसरदुयं वा..... पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. 605.

J. I. 54, 124, 344, 186, 255, 545, III. 98, IV. 264, 265, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 23. 12. 7, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736, 1. Raya. III. 12.

Rose Apple (*Jambū*)—J. 124, 294, 536, 541, IV. 545, VI. 529, Daśa Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 1-3.

Panasa (Bread fruit)—J. 57, 123, 466, 450, II. 160, V. 46, J. 547, Panna. I. 23. 12. 7, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

अम्बा कपित्था पनसा साला जम्बू विभीतका हरीतका आमलका असत्था बदरानि च चारु तिम्ब रुक्ता च एव निषोधा च कपित्थना मधु मधुका येवन्ति नीचे पक्कवा च उदुम्बरा मुद्दिका च मधुत्थिका मधु मनेलकम् दोविला भेकवण्णा तदुभयम् विभेदिका नालिकेर खज्जुरीनाम् ब्रह्मवने ।

J. 547.

Srīṅṅāṭaka (Trapabispinosa)

उच्छु मेरुं वा अकं करेलुयं वा कसेरुं वा सिग्धाडगं वा पूति आलुगं वा,..... पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. II. 3. 3. 350.

Amalaka (emblic myrobalan)—J. I. 450, II. 160, V. 465, J. 495, 512, Vin. Mv. I. 20. 10, Vin. I. 201, 278, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Kadañ (plantain)—J. 466, 514, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Cocoanut (*Nālikera*)—J. 466, 514, 537, 547, Sutra. I. 44.

Dates (*Kharjūra*)—J. 547.

Bilva—J. I. 306, 495, VI. 578, Saṃyutta. I. 150, Sutta. N. 125, Angutara. IV. 170, Apādana III. 346.

Palm fruit (*Tāla*)—J. 160, IV. 158.

Prīṭṭāla—J. 495.

तिष्ठकानि पियालानि मधुके कासुमारियो ।

फलानि खुदकप्पानि भुञ्ज राजा वरम् वरम् ।

J. 503.

Tinḍuka—J. 177, 495, 541, II. 53, IV. 270, V. 38, Digh. I. 178, V. 99., Aca. 613.

See above. J. 503.

Grapes (*Draṅkapa*)—J. 547, 185.

Parāṇaka—Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 278.

Karamarda—J. 455, VI. 536.

Citrus (*Mātulīṅga*)

कविट्ठं मावलिगं च मूलगं मूल गत्तियं । २५ ।

तद्देव फलमंभूणि बीयमंभूणि जाणिया ।

विहलणं पियालं च आमगं परिवज्जए । २६ ।

Daśavaikālika V. 2. 25-26.

sold at the gates of Uttara Pāncāla.¹ The Buddha himself allowed leafy vegetables to his followers.² Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables.³ The use of garlic and leeks is prohibited because the foul smell deprived the eater of garlic of the company of others. But the Buddhist monks were allowed to use it in case of illness.⁴

Some other fruits are mentioned.

C.f. Panna. I. 1-3.

Nyagrodha—J. I. 298, 324.

Kālmarya—J. 503, 540.

Lakusa—J. 495.

Amrātaka—J. II. 111, Apādāna. II. 346, Panna. I. 1-3.

Kapittha (wood apple)—J. I. 298, VI. 550, 553, J. 547, 529.

Udumbara—Digh. II. 4, IV. 35, Aṅguttara IV. 283, J. I. 298, III. 73, 294, VI. 174, 529, 251.

Pomegranate (*Dādīma*)—Panna. I. 1-3, Aca. 605.

¹ J. I. 139.

² Mahāvagga. (H) VI. 6.8, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.

³ Stalks of lotus (*Bisa*)—Aca. II. 1.7.

Roots of lotus (*Sālaka*)—Aca. II. 1.7, J.I. 79, 96, Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 563.

Mustard stalks—Aca. II. 1.7.

Long bottle gourd (*alābā*)—J. I. 3, 12, IV. 445, V. 37 VI. 578, Sutra. I. 4.4., Naya. XVI. 163, Uttara Ti. V. 103.

Brinjal—Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Bhag. XXI. 7, Uttara XXXVI. 96, Aca. II. 3.3.350, J. V. 37.

Cucumber—Panna. I. 23.18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

Radish—*Ibid.*

Catmint (*Bidālī*)

खणन्तं शलुकलम्बानि विदालि तक्कलाणि धुत्तम् सामाकनीवारम् संधारियम् पसारियम्
साकं भिसं मधुं मांसं बदरामलकानि च तानि आभरवा भुज्जामि अस्थि मे सो परिग्गहो ।

J. 496.

Other vegetables used as food were *Piṇḍālu*, *Aluka*, *Elāluka* (convolvulus), *Kadamba* (convolvulus repens), *Bidarikanda*, *Kāraṇḍilla*, *Pālaka*, *Svastika* and *Mandūkī*. The last three are leafy vegetables.

Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

वत्थु साएणं वा, सुस्थियं साएणं वा मंडूकियं साएणं वा अवसेसं सागविहिं पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 38.

पालुंका माधुर एणं अवसेसं माहुरयं विहिं पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 39.

⁴ Some Buddhist nuns are said to have pulled out practically all the onions from a field. This shows that some of them were very fond of onions.

(J. 136.)

Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha. Pacittiya (H) 4.1., Culla. (H) V. 6.4.

Garlic (*lasuna*)

या पन भिक्खुनी लसुणम् खादेव्यं पाचित्तियम् ।

Vin. IV. 259.

Vin. II. 140, IV. 258, Culla. V. 6.4., Aca. II. 3.3.350.

Leeks—Vin. IV. 259.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Buddhist and Jain works we learn that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale.¹ Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.² At the time of festivals, feasting and drinking were resorted to and friends were invited.³ It is stated that Caṇḍa Pajjota drank for three days continuously when Vatsarāja Udayana was brought alive.⁴ Jain sources also mention drinking to excess. King Duvaya is said to have entertained the members of a marriage party with many kinds of liquors and wines.⁵ From the Jātakas we learn that even women and hermits drank hard on some occasions.⁶

But people were well acquainted with the evils of drinking.⁷ The princes of Baravai, it is stated, were ruined because they were addicted to drinking Kādambarī wine.⁸ Even dealing in strong liquors is forbidden.⁹ The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks indulgence in wines.¹⁰ The Jain canon does not even permit monks to reside at a place

¹ J. I. 116, 251, 268, V. 12, VI. 328, J. 545, VI. 505, Bṛhatk. I. 2.4. Uttara XIX. 70, Bhag. V. 2.8, Vipaka. II. 19, Nisī. Cu. I. 511.

² J. I. 116, 251, 268, VI. 328, 545.

³ Flags were used to distinguish liquor shops from other shops. Bṛhatk. Bhā. II. 35-39.

⁴ J. 142, I. 362, II. 240, VI. 161, J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. I. 193.

⁶ Naya. 16, p. 179.

⁷ Surāpāna. J. 81, J. 512.

⁸ Surāpāna. J., Kumbha. J.

⁹ Uttara. Tl. 2, p. 36 a.

¹⁰ Anguttara. III. 208.

¹¹ सुरामेरखपानञ्च यो नरो अनुयुञ्जति।

इधेवमेसो लोकस्मिं मूलं खनति अस्तनो।

सुरामेरखपाने पाचित्तियन्ति।

Dhammapada, p. 247.

Bhikkhu Patimokkha. V. 51.

C.f. Vin. Mv. I. 56, Anguttara III. 770.

तुहं पिया सुरा सीहू मेर आथ महणिय।

पज्जिओमि जलं तीयो वसा रहिराणि च।

Uttara. XIX. 71.

हिसे बाले मुसा बाई माइल्ले पिसुणे सडे।

भुंजमाणे सुरं मंसं सेय मेयं निमज्जई।

Uttara. V. 9.

जे मज्ज मंस लसणं च भोञ्जा। अतथ वासं परिकल्पयंति।

Sutra. I. 7.13.

C.f. Jiva. III. 37, Naya. XVI. 105.

where jars of wine are stored.¹ But both the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were allowed to use wine in cases of illness.²

Strong liquors are called *Madya* but the general word for all kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals is *Surā*.³ The Vinaya, mentions five kinds of *surā*—prepared from rice meal, from cakes, from boiled rice, from ferment and with spices.⁴ *Maireya* (spiced wine) seems to be very popular at this time.⁵ *Vāruṇī* (a strong liquor), the wine prepared from *Madhūka* flowers (*Basia Latifolia*), *Prasannā* (a variety of *surā*) and *Sidhu* (prepared with the juice of sugarcane) were other intoxicating drinks in use.⁶ From the Jain canon we learn that liquors prepared from palm fruit, *Jāti* flowers, *Kadamba* fruit were also used.⁷ A

¹ Bṛhatk. IX. 17.

² Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.16, Bṛhatk. Bha. II. 3413, Naya. V. 80.

³ Patimokkha. 21, Dhammapada 247, J. 466, Naya XVI. 179.

⁴ सुरा नाम पिठसुरा, पूवसुरा ओदनसुरा किण्वपक्वित्ता संभारसंयुक्ता मेरेय नाम पुष्पासव फलासवो मध्वासवो गुडासवो संभार संयुक्ता।

Vin. IV. 110.

⁵ नो सुरा उच्छृत्सेन मेरेयम् कृत्वा पिबिस्साम।

J. 466.

C.f. Dhammapada. 247, Patimokkha. 51.

See Ch. IV. for the preparation of *Maireya*.

सुरं च महुं च मेरं च जाइं च सिधुं च पत्तणं च।

Vipaka. para. 40.

सुरा मेरेय पानञ्च यो नरो अनुयुञ्जति।

इध्वमेसो लोकस्मिं मूलं खनति अत्तनो।

Dhammapada. 247.

सुरं वा मेरं वा वि अन्नं वा मज्जगं रसम्।

स सक्खं न पिबे भिक्खु जस सारक्ख मप्पणो।

Daśavaikālika. V. 2.38.

⁶ *Vāruṇī*—

वा तालवर्जूररसै आसृता सा हि वारुणी।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna. II, p. 33.

J. I. 47, Jiva. III. 37.

Mādhubā (from *Madhuka* flowers)—Av. Cu. II. 171.

Prasannā—for preparation see Ch. IV.

Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

Sidhu (distilled from juice of sugarcane) Uttara. XIX. 70, Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

⁷ *Tālakka* (a wine prepared from the palm fruit), Jambū, XX. 99, Jiva. III. 264, Panna. XVII. 364.

Jāti (an intoxicating drink from *Jāti* flowers) Vipaka. II. 19.

Kadambā (distilled from ripe kadamba fruit) Uttaradhyayana. Ti. II. 36.

strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times, is called *Satau*.¹ Some other varieties are also mentioned.²

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Cool water brought from mountain springs was used for drinking purposes.³ Buddhists used eight kinds of strainers to purify drinking water as they were not allowed to drink water full of insects.⁴ The Jains regard rainwater as the best⁵ but water of springs, frost, wells, tanks and dewdrops was also used for drinking.⁶

In this period many syrups were prepared from fruits etc. The Buddha allowed eight kinds of beverages to his followers. Syrups were prepared with ripe mango juice, rose apple, plantain fruit, grapes, edible root of waterlily, honey, *Parūṣaka* fruit and coconut.⁷ Sometimes syrups prepared with *gūḍa* and

बहुतं नगरं गोरुवाणं सोल्लेहिय, तल्लिहिय, भज्जिहिय, परितुक्केहिय,
तावणहियं सुरं च महं च मेगरं च जाइं च सिधुं च पसणं च ।

Vipaka. para. 40.

¹ J.C. Jain, p. 125. Jambu. 20, p. 99 fr. Jiva 3, pp. 264a f.

Panna. 17, p. 364 f.

² *Candrapabbā, Maṇḍilāka, Rūpabba, Jambūphala, Kālikā, Dugdhajoti, Mṛdvikāsāra, Vamā, Sovira, Kharjūrasāra* and *Supakṣeṣurasāra*.

(J. C. Jain, p. 125).

³ अथि मे पानीयम् सीतम् आभतम् निरिगम्भरा ।

ततो पिब महाराज स च त्वं अभिहृषसीति ।

J. 340.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 20 and 62.

The Buddha also allowed the use of some stands made of wood, stone or bricks for keeping water jars.

Culla. (H) V. 2.4.

यो पन भिक्खु जलम् सण्णाणकम् उदकम् परिमुञ्जेव्य पाचित्तियम् ।

Pac. XX. 62.

Of the eight kinds of strainers the *Danda paristavana* was a long box, both ends of which strained water which was poured into the centre by means of a pipe. The other strainers were a filter with four pipes (*Offhanika*), regulation water pots (*dharmakarakas*), corner of the upper robe, cross seams, short cross seams, circular seams, and short circular seams. (Vin. III. 102, III. 177, 302, Culla. XIII. 2., Vin. Mv. VIII.).

⁵ अंतलिखोदणं अवसेसं पाणिविहिं पचक्खत्ति ।

Uva. I. 4r.

⁶ Aca. I. 13. 108.

⁷ अनुजानामि भिक्खवे षट्ठ पाणानि : अम्बपानम् जम्बुपानम् चोचपानम् मोचपानम् मधुपानम् मुद्दिपानम् सालुकपानम् फारुसकपानम् ।

Vin. I. 246.

sugar were also used.¹ All these beverages were used in the evening as the followers of the Buddha did not take their meals in the evening.² The Jain works mention some other syrups such as those prepared from dates, pomegranates, green bamboos, jujube, myrobalans and tamarind.³

The Jain monks were not permitted to drink water used for washing rice, sesamum, chaff, or barley as also that used for preparing dough. Sour gruel was also not allowed to them.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The Buddhists, generally had a separate dining room and a store house for food stuffs.⁵ Food was also available on the shops in the market.⁶ The rich no doubt had their expert cooks. The Buddha appointed a separate officer to distribute food.⁷ The art of cooking was so developed that it is considered one of the twenty five prominent occupations of the period.⁸ Eighteen kinds of solid foods are referred to in a Jātaka,⁹ and the process of flavouring cooked preparations with cumin and asafoetida (*Dhūpita*) was well known.¹⁰ The Jain sources mention eighteen kinds of seasoned foods (*Vyañjana*)¹¹ and a number of

¹ *Guṇodaka*—Vin. Mv. VI. 27.

Sakkharapānaka

राजा अम्भानं तच्चं अपनेत्वा सक्खरं पक्खिपित्वा सयम् एव महित्वा थेरस्स पत्तम् पूरेत्वा अदासि।

C.f. J. 476.

J. I. 281.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 6.6, Digh. Part. I. p. 3, (Bhāgavata).

³ अंबपाणनं वा, अंबाडगपाणनं वा, कविट्ठपाणनं वा, मार्जलिगपाणनं वा, मुद्दिवापाणनं वा, दाडिमपाणनं वा, खजूरपाणनं वा, गालिएरपाणनं वा, करीरपाणनं वा, आमलगपाणनं वा, चिचापाणनं वा, अण्णवरं वा तहूपगारंपाणनमजायं सकण्णं . . . पडि गाहिज्जा।

Aca. I. 399.

⁴ से भिक्खू वा जाय समाने से अं पुण पाणम जायं जाणिज्जा, तं जहा तिलोदगं वा, तुसोदगं वा, जलोदगं वा, आयामं वा, सोवीरं वा, सुद्धवियंबं वा, अस्सिं खलु पडिग्गाहिज्जा यंसि अप्पे पच्छा कम्मे तहेव पडिग्गाहिज्जा।

Aca. I. 642.

⁵ *Upasāhānāsālā* (a dining room)—Cull. Samsanakkhandhva VI.

Kappabūhi (a store house)—J. 545.

⁶ *Odaniyagbara* (shop of a cook)—J. 545, J. III. 287, V. 290, VI. 276, V. 170.

⁷ *Khajjabbūjaka* (a distributor of food)—Vin. II. 176, III. 38, 155.

⁸ *Ajātasatru* mentioned it to the Buddha.

⁹ J. 26, J. I., p. 186.

¹⁰ *Dhūpita*. (Vv. 43.)

¹¹ The eighteen kinds of *Vyañjana* are :—

1. *Sūpa* (pulse soup), 2. *Odana* (boiled rice), 3-5. Three kinds of meat. 6. Cow's milk. 7. *Jūsa* (water of boiled pulses), 8. *Bbakka* sweets, 9. *Gulāvaṇiya* (*gol pāpaṭi* etc.), 10. *Mālapphala* (bread fruit), 11. *Hari-*

sweets such as *ghṛtapūra*, *kḥajjakas* and *Maṇḍakas*¹ and saline preparations such as small round balls prepared with pulses and *parpaṭas*.² The preparation of all these delicacies shows a high stage of development in the culinary art.

Buddhist monks generally used utensils made of copper, wood or clay.³ Utensils made of gold, silver and precious stones were used only by the rich, while the common people used copper, wooden, or skin vessels and the poor used only leaf pots and earthenware.⁴ When earthen vessels were broken the Buddhist monks were allowed water vessels of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots and skins.⁵ In the Cullavagga it is considered improper to store salt in a horn vessel because by keeping salt in a hollow horn the Buddhist monks acquired a possession.⁶

The common implements used by the Buddhist monks were a water jar, a drinking cup, a water bag, a basket, a cooking pot and a pan.⁷ A round tub like vessel for keeping soft food

yūga (Cumin), 12. *Sāga* (vegetables), 13. *Rasālu* (*Sikharīṇi*) 14. *Pāna* (drinks)
15. *Pāniya* (water), 16. *Pānaka* (beverages), 17. *Sāga* (*dahibārā*)
Tha. III. 135.

J.C. Jain, p. 123.

Cooked food is classified into four categories—well dressed food in general (*Sukṛtam*), well cooked food (*supakvami*) such as *Ghṛtapūra*, flavoured food (*Subhṛtam*) such as soup and *Yavāgu* and much sweetened food such as *Modakas*.

¹ See p. 60, f. n. 4, p. 69, f. n. (1) and (2) above.

² See p. 62, f. n. 2.

³ Culla (H) V. 1.10., Culla. (H) V. 74.

⁴ कञ्चन लट्टके यद्युत्ताने समस्तरोदकाञ्च दापित्वा ।

J. 476.

Culla. (H) V. 1.10, c.f. Naya. Ti. I. 42(a) I. 26.

Culla. V. 16, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Pannaputa (leaf pots)—J. I. 415.

Eighteen kinds of utensils—such as those made of iron, copper, lead, bronze, silver, gold, precious stones, ivory, horns, cloth, leather, stone and conchshell are mentioned in Nisi. IX. 1.

⁵ Culla. V. 16.2.

⁶ Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁷ *Bhṛīgāra* (water jar)—Digh. II. 172, Anguttara. IV. 210, J. I. 266, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Saraka (drinking cup)—J. I. 157, 266, J. 125.

Thāvika (a water bag)—Culla. V. 9. 1-4.

Piṭṭaka (a basket)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25.

Kumbhi (a cooking pot)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25, Ghaṭikārasutta. 81.

Taṭṭaka (a dish)—J. 476.

Pariyoga (a dish)—Ghaṭikārasutta. 81.

Kaḍapiya (a pan)—J. 268.

was called *Alindā* and a basket for keeping solid food *gopiṭaka*.¹ A cover for alms bowl was called *Piṇḍopadbāna*.² In the Jain works we also have such implements as a knife, a sieve, a mortar, big and small jars, kettle for cooking, tumbler and jars having necks like that of a camel.³ The earliest reference to a spittoon is found in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The Buddhist works lay down hospitality as a duty and state that alms giving cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.⁵ Wherever the Buddha went the laity were anxious to feed the whole order.⁶ The Jains clearly advocate that even a *Cāṇḍāla* guest should be fed with honour.⁷

Both the Buddhists and the Jains were very particular about the purity of food. The Buddha allowed food to his followers only when they had cleaned their teeth with a tooth stick.⁸ They are not permitted to drink water before it is cleaned by a strainer.⁹ The Jains were not expected to take any fruit or

¹ *Alindā*—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9, Uva. VII. 4.

Gopiṭaka—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9.

² M.S.V. I. 84.2.

³ *Sattva* (a knife)—Sutra. I. 4.10.

Supphall (a kettle for cooking)—Sutra. I. 4.12.

Khalaga (a sieve)—Ibid.

Kharagāḷaṇa (a mortar)—Ibid.

The Uva. VII. 4 mentions *Karas* (small jars), *Varas* (big jars), *piṇḍas* (cooking pots), *ghaṇas* (water jars), *Aḍḍaghaṇas* (half water jars), *Kalata* (jars), *Alinjara*, *Jambue* (tumblers), *Uttariya* (jars having necks like those of camels).

⁴ *Vinayapiṭaka* Ed. by H. Oldenberg 1879, Vol. I, p. 271.

Also see 'History of the Spittoon in India' by Dr. P. K. Gode, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVI. Parts III & IV, pp. 204-214.

⁵ S.B.B. I. 3, XIII. 38.

⁶ Digh. (H) 30 Lakkhaṇa Sutta.

Generally the invitation to Bhikkhus was issued on the previous day. Majjhima (H) 55.

Supriyā, a follower of the Buddha, is said to have cut off the flesh of her own thigh to save the life of an ailing Bhikkhu when it could not be had it being a holiday in the meat market in Banaras. This shows that the spirit of hospitality had become a part and parcel of Indian social life.

पौल्यनिक गृहेषु उह मांसम् उक्कन्तित्वा दासिया प्रदासि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 13.3.

⁷ Uttara. XII.

⁸ Culla. V. 5. (Hindi).

⁹ See p. 76, f. n. (4) above, Pac. XX. 62.

vegetable before they had fully satisfied themselves that it did not contain any living being.¹ For the same reason eating food at night is condemned.² Both the Jains and the Buddhists did not believe that food was defiled by the touch of a person if he was born in a low caste.³ Whosoever be the giver they were expected to accept and eat their food with respect,⁴ even if it be coarse food.⁵

The Buddha laid great emphasis on eating food obtained by lawful means. According to him the leavings of a householder or a dog were better than food obtained by unlawful means.⁶ A monk was not allowed to dine with the order if he committed a sin.⁷ We learn from the Jātakas that Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking food with Kṣatriyas but they generally avoided the leavings of others and if they did not do so they were excommunicated.⁸ A Brāhmaṇa repents for eating the food of a Cāṇḍāla,⁹ and a Kṣatriya refuses to dine with his own daughter because she was born of a Sūdra wife.¹⁰ Brāhmaṇas are excommunicated for using water mixed with the rice which the Cāṇḍāla had used.¹¹ In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra there is a story stating that Brāhmaṇas refused to give food to a Cāṇḍāla ascetic.¹²

The Buddha laid down several rules to see that his followers practised moderation in food. They were not allowed to take midday meal in the afternoon.¹³ No monk was allowed to take

¹ Nisi. IV. 27.

² See p. 67, f. n. 3 above.

³ See p. 79, f. n. 8 above.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha. VII. 27, 31, Bhikkhu Patimokkha. (H) VI. 27 and 31.

⁵ Bhikkhuni Patimokkha. IV. 30.

⁶ न चापि मे सीधाली सो अन्नस्सो

य होति चत्तम् गिहिनो सुत सस्स वा

ये के चि भोगा इध भम लद्धा

सन्नो भक्खो अन्नवज्जोति वुत्तोति ।

⁷ Culla. I. 5.6.

⁸ J. II. 319-20, J. 179, IV. 388.

⁹ J. II. 82.

¹⁰ J. IV. 144.

¹¹ J. IV. 388.

¹² Uttara. XII.

¹³ Culla. XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V. p. 333, Bhikkhu Patimokkha., Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.12.

quantity of food more than what was necessary to sustain life.¹ They were not allowed to store food in ordinary times.² But some food stuffs, which were given to the convalescent monks as tonics such as ghee, butter, honey, oil and sugar, could be preserved for a week.³ At a time the monk could not accept more than three bowls of food.⁴ The Jains also insist on eating as much food as is necessary to sustain life,⁵ and believe that the body is purified by keeping fasts.⁶

Some idea of the food of children can be had from a Jātaka.⁷ The food of the students consisted chiefly of rice and rice gruel. On being invited to dinners, however, they were served with sugar, jaggery, curds and milk.⁸ They were expected to avoid rich food (*Pranīta*) as it did not suit their stage in life. They are advised to be moderate in eating and drinking.⁹

¹ Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 35-37., Majjhima (H) 39. (Mahaassapura).

² Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 38., Mahavagga (H) VI. 5.1, Majjhima (H). 53.

³ Mahavagga. VI. 3.4.

C.f. चउव्विहे वि आहारे राई भोयण वज्जणा।

सन्निही संचओ चेय, वज्जे यव्वो सुदुनकरम्।

Uttara. XIX. 30.

⁴ Culla. VII. 3.13, 34, Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) VII. 29, 30, (H) 36, Bhikkuni Patimokkha (H) VI. 29, 30, 36.

⁵ जहा दवग्गी पउरिण्णणे वणे समासओ नोवसमं उवेइ।

एविन्दियग्गी विपगाम भोइणो न वंभयारिस्स हियाय कस्सई।

Uttara XXXII. 11.

Uttara. I. 32.

अन्नाय उल्लं चरइ विमुल्लं जवणट्ठया समुयाणं च निच्चं।

अलद्धयं नो परिवेवएज्जा लद्धं न विकल्पई स पुज्जो।

Dasa IX. 4. 3.4.

संधार सेज्जा सण भत्त पाणै, अण्णिच्छया अइलाने विसन्ते।

जोएव मण्णाणअमितोस एज्जा, संतोस पाहणरए स पुज्जो।

Dasa. IX. 4. 3.5.

⁶ अणसण मूणो यरिया निक्कायरिया रस परिच्चाओ।

काय किलेसा संलीणयाव बज्जो तवो होई।

Uttara XXX. 8.

⁷ Jātaka VI. 3-6.

⁸ एक दिवसं निमन्तने एकव्वे माण वा गुलम् दधिना भुज्जिणु एक चे खीरेण।

J. I. 123.

⁹ नोपणीयं आहरिता हवइ से निगन्थे तं कहु मिति चे? आयरियाहु-निगन्थे स सलु पणीयं आहारं। आहारे माणस्स बम्भयरिस्स बम्भचेरे संका वा कंधा वा विइणिच्छा वा समुप्पज्जिज्जा भेदं वा लभेज्जा उम्मायं वा पाउणिज्जा, दीहकालियं वा रोगा यं कं हवेज्जा के वसि पत्त-

Both the Buddhists and Jains lay emphasis on simplicity of food for monks. The Buddhist monks were advised to avoid a meal to be taken by three persons together (*Tikabhojana*) as also a group meal (*ganabhojana*) because they might get fond of well cooked and sweet things.¹ The Buddha prescribed that a healthy Bhikkhu should not request a householder to provide such rich food stuffs as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk and curds.² The Jain monks were not allowed to take highly nourishing food such as milk, curds, ghee, oil, etc. because such nourishing food makes one overstrong and desires rush upon him as the birds rush upon a tree laden with sweet fruit.³ The Jain monks were expected to visit only those places where coarse food such as *Kulmāṣa* was provided.⁴ Jain monks should not take too much interest in the food preparations.⁵

ताम्रो धम्माओ भसेज्जा । तम्हा खलुनो निम्मान्ये पणीयं आहारं आहारेज्जा ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

नो अद्दमायाए पाण भोषणं आहारेता हवइ से निम्नान्ये ।

Uttara XVI. 8.

¹ Culla. VII. 13.

² Bhikkhupatimokkha (H) V. 39, Bhikkhunipatimokkha V. 5. 222-229.

³ Uttara. XXX. 4.

रसापगामं न निसेवियव्वा, पायं रसा दित्तं करा नराणम्

दित्तं च कामा समभिद्वंति दुमं जहा साउफलं च पक्खी ।

Uttara. XXXII. 10.

पणीयं भत्त पाणं तुं लिप्पं मय विवहडणं ।

बभवेर रओ भिक्खू निच्चसो परिवज्जए ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

⁴ पन्ता णिवेव सेवेज्जा सीय पिण्डं पुराणं कुम्मासं
अद्दु वृक्कसं पुलागं वा जवणट्ठाए निसेवए मंयुं ।

Uttara. VIII. 12.

आयामगं चेव जवोदणं च सीयं सोवीर जवोदणं च ।

न हीलए पिण्डं नीरसं तु परिव्वए स भिक्खू ।

Uttara. XV. 13.

परिवाडीए न बिट्ठेज्जा भिक्खू दत्तेसणं चरे ।

पडिरुपेण एसिता मियं कालेण भक्खए ।

विभूसा इत्थि संसग्गो पणीयं रसभोयणं ।

न रस्सज्जण वेसिस्स जिंसं ताल उडं जहा ।

Dasav. VIII. 57.

⁵ सुद्धे सणाए न च्चाणं तत्थ ठवेज्ज भिक्खू अप्पाणम् ।

जायाए पास मेसेज्जा रसगिद्धेन सिवा भिक्खाए ।

Uttara. VIII. 11.

अलोलभिक्खू न रसेसु गिद्धे उडं चरे जीविय नाभिकसे ।

इहिडं च सक्कारण पूयणं च चए ठिय्या अणि हे जेस भिक्खू ।

Dasav. X. 17.

They were not expected to declare the qualities of food for the same reason.¹ An ideal monk according to the Buddha, does not kill any animal for food, accepts only one course, does not take food at improper times. He does not accept uncooked foodgrains, or meat.² The Buddha did not allow the monks the use of stuffed couches and chairs when taking food.³

It appears that the diet of the Buddhist monks consisted of milk rice in the breakfast, rice and curry at lunch and slight repast consisting of ghee, butter, oil, honey or molasses in the afternoon. They did not eat anything at night.⁴ We learn that other ascetics generally lived on leaves, bulbs, roots such as radish, lotus stalks, fruits such as jujube, myrobalan, honey, wild rice and black mustard.⁵ Some naked ascetics took food in a standing posture, they licked their hands clean and refused to accept any invitations. They abstained from fish, meat and strong drinks and lived on pot herbs, wild rice, leather, pāṇṇa, *hafa* (a water plant), scum of boiled rice, broken pieces of rice, oil cake, grasses and such fruits as fell from the tree themselves.⁶ But it appears that some ascetics had no objection to taking meat preparations.⁷ Some monks were fond of eating mangoes, some of onions and some others of garlic.⁸ The

¹ सुकडिति सुपन्निकति मुच्छिन्ने सुहृडे मडे ।

सुणिदिठर सुलदिठति सायखं वज्जए मुणी ।

Uttara. I. 36.

² एक भित्तिको समणो गोतमो रत्तु परतो ।

विकालभोजना पटिविरतो समणो गोतमो ।

Digh. Part. I., p. 5 (Bhāgavata)

Digha (H) I. 1, Kalpasutra. V. 8, Culla. VII. 3. 25, 37, Mahavagga. I. 36.

³ Culla. VIII. 5. 3. V. 19.

⁴ Mahavagga. I. 25. 8, I. 30. 8, Culla. XII. 2. 8, Losaka J. 41.

स कथयति भगवन् किमकाले कल्पेत । भगवान् आह पृतगुडसर्करापानकानि चेति ।
ततो मेण्डकेन गृह्यति ना दुद्धं प्रमृशो भिक्षु संघोज्जालसाधकैः अकालपानकैश्च संतर्पितः ।

Div. 130.2.

⁵ Bhikkhuparamparā J. No. 496, J. I. 251.

⁶ साक भक्खा सामाक भक्खा नीवार भक्खा ददुल भक्खा हट भक्खा कण भक्खा आचाम भक्खा पिञ्जक भक्खा वन मूल फलाहारो यापे सु पवत्त फल भोजी ।

Digh. I. 166, Kassapaśihanādi Sutta

सेवाल भिक्षणो मूलाहार कन्दाहार पत्ताहार तयाहार पुष्पाहार फलाहार बीया-
हार ।

Bhagavati XI. 9.6.

⁷ Digh. I. 141, Aupapātika Sūtra.

⁸ Aca. II. 7.

Buddha laid down that not more than three Bhikkhus should visit a house on one day. They should also not visit a house in the afternoon, for it might cause inconvenience to the householder.¹ The Buddhist monks were allowed to take molasses, ghee, butter, oil, honey, fish, flesh, milk and curds but were not allowed to drink *Surā* or *Maireya*.²

The Jains were expected to take their meals at a place which was free from insects and green plants, was covered with some piece of cloth and was surrounded with walls.³ From the *Jātakas* we know that people took food in dining halls and sat on benches while doing so.⁴ Some of them also used cushions.⁵ The Buddha laid down rules of etiquette for the monks. He laid down that while eating, the whole hand should not be thrust into the mouth. A person should not talk with rice in his mouth, eat tossing up balls of food, stuff his cheeks with rice, shake hands, scatter lumps of rice, put out his tongue, make a hissing sound, lick his fingers or bowl or accept a drinking cup with a hand soiled with food.⁶ He also insisted that the same food should be served to all and that even the eldest monk should not begin taking his meal until the cooked rice had been served to all. Eating delicious dishes (*Uttaribhaṅga*) alone was also considered improper.⁷ It was also laid down that the monk who came back first from his round for alms in the village should make preliminary arrangements for the dining of the whole fraternity such as getting ready the seats, water for washing and drinking, towels etc. He, who came last, was to clean the dining room after he had taken his meals.⁸ We also have interesting details about the customs prevalent at that time. In times of scarcity

¹ Culla. VII. 3.13, XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V, p. 333.

² Culla. VII. 3.39, 51, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ अण्य दाने अण्य बीयमि पडिच्छन्मि संवुडे।

समयं संजए भुंजे जयं अपरिसाडियम्।

Uttara I. 33.

⁴ J. 31.

Sālā—dining hall.

Āraṇapbalaka—bench.

⁵ Culla. V. 19, *Āsittakūpadhāna*.

⁶ Culla. VIII. 4-5, Culla. (H) VIII. 2.2.

c.f. Bhikkhu Pātimokkha (H) VII. 27-56, Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha VI. 27-56, Majjhima (H) 91.

⁷ Culla (H) VIII. 2.2, Sudhābhajana J. 535.

⁸ Culla. (H) VIII. 3.1.

food was distributed to the monks at Rājagṛha by tying tickets with each share.¹

It appears that the food of the poor people generally consisted of such coarse preparations as cold cakes, *Kulmāṣa*, fried beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*, shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*), scum of boiled rice (*Ācāma*), barley mess, barley water, sour gruel, or butter milk, salt and oil.² The rich on the other hand enjoyed delicious rice gruel, cakes of eighteen kinds and food having a number of flavours. They also took some delicacies (*Uttari-bhaṅga*) at the end of their meals.³

The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with meat and rice preparations.⁴ From the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we learn that they lived on boiled *Sālī* rice, pulses from which black specks had been sought out and removed and flavoured with meat sauces and curries (*Vyañjana*) of various kinds.⁵

The Samājas afforded occasions for big feasts. Feasts were also arranged on such auspicious occasions as the birth of a son. These feasts took place in dining halls where people sat on excellent comfortable seats.⁶

On some routes it was difficult to get food stuffs so the Buddha allowed his followers to take some food for journey (*Pāṭheya*) such as rice, *mudga*, *māṣa*, salt, *gṇḍa*, oil and clarified butter.⁷

The food habits of people naturally differed from region to region. The Kambojas of Uttarāpatha were in the habit of eating insects, moths and some kinds of snakes, and frogs.⁸ While the people of Koriṃkara were fond of fruits and flowers.⁹

¹ S.B.B. Vol. V, p. 247., Culla. VI. 20.

² Mahāvagga (Hindī) VI. 5.1, Kassapasihanāda Sutta. Uttara. XV.

³ सौत्तरीयं याम् पिबित्वा प्रद्वारसं विधम् खञ्जकम् खादित्वा नानगरसेहि सुभोजनम् भुञ्जितुम् न वहेतीति ।

J. I. 186.

सत सहस्रस्य निकाय सुवर्णपातिया सतरस भोजनं भुञ्जति

J. II. 319.

⁴ J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Digh. I, p. 88, Digh. (H) I. 5.

⁶ Kalpa. Sū., p. 255.

⁷ Mahāvagga (H) VI. 6.4.

⁸ Bhūridatta. J. 543, Barua. II. 259.

⁹ Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya. I. 1239.

To sum up in the early Jain and Buddhist works, rice occupied a more prominent place than barley or wheat. Some fine preparations from cereals such as *Ghayapunnaka*, *Morandaka* and *Khajjakas* and from pulses *Vatākas* of many kinds and *Parpatas* were made. Milk products and fruits and vegetables of all kinds were widely used. Fruit syrups seem to have been very popular. In the east meat and fish were common articles of food but some people eschewed meat diet as a result of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Drinking on festive occasions was common but the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were expected to avoid it. The Jains were very particular about non-killing of living creatures, hence they used only strained water and avoided all food articles in which there was a possibility of the existence of any insect. The Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life but the Jain monks were advised to abstain from all food as a last stage in spiritual advancement. It is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jains may have come from the code of the Ājīvikas.

CHAPTER IV
FOOD AND DRINKS
(300 B.C. to 75 A.D.)

For the period 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. we have information from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Greek historians. Incidentally Patañjali's great commentary, the Mahābhāṣya, also throws some light on the food habits of the Indians. We have utilized all this information in the first section of this chapter. The authorities utilized in the second section are of a date slightly more uncertain.¹

SECTION I (MAURYA AND SUNGA PERIOD)

It appears from the Greek sources that there were two main crops, one ripening in winter consisting of rice and millet and the other ripening in summer, the chief products thereof being wheat and barley as now.² But from Kauṭilya we learn that there was a third crop which was grown between the two main crops. It chiefly produced beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Rice and barley continued to be the staple foodgrains.⁴ Besides the old varieties of rice *Sālī*, *Vrihi*, *Kodrava* and *Priyangu* two new varieties *Dāraka* and *Varaka* had come into use in Kauṭilya's time.⁵ From Patañjali it appears that *Hāyana* and *Śaṣṭika* varieties of rice were quite popular.⁶ No new preparations of

¹ According to the *Mahābhāṣya*, a commentary on the Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyanīputra, the Rāmāyaṇa contained only 12,000 ślokaś in the first century A.D. instead of the present version which has 24,000 ślokaś.

² Strabo. XV. Frag. C. 290.

³ शाखित्रीहिकोद्वलितप्रियङ्गुदारकवरकाः पूर्ववापाः। मुद्गमाषशैम्भ्याः मध्यवापाः। कुसुम्भमसूरकुलुत्थपवगोधूमकलायातसीसर्षपाः पश्चाद्वापाः।

Kaut. II. 24: 16-18.

⁴ Kaut. II. 24, McCrindle, p. 127.

⁵ *Dāraka* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)—Kaut. II. 24.16. Same as *Uddālaka* in Caraka.

Varaka—(*Phaseolus Trilobus*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

⁶ *Hāyana*—Patanjali IV. 1.27, p. 223.3.

Śaṣṭika—Ibid IV. 1.93, p. 360. 3.

rice are mentioned.¹ The two varieties of barley one cultivated and the other uncultivated² were commonly used in preparing a mess, a gruel, groats and cakes. Gruel was also prepared with an inferior food grain called *Gavidbhukā*. Groats were now eaten with curds.³ Wheat now occupied a more important place among the cereals than in the previous period, it being invariably mentioned with barley.⁴ Besides the old pulses, pea seems to have become very popular. A soup prepared from it is expressly mentioned by Patañjali. *Rājamāṣa* had also come into use in his time.⁵ A taboo against the use of *Māṣa* and its preparations is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kulmāṣa* was eaten in this period as well.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called *Go'dhyakṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dobaka*) and churning curds (*Manthaka*).⁷ Cows were generally milked twice a

¹ The old preparations mentioned are:—

Odana or *Bhākta*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 42. 17, III. 1.26 p. 33. 26, McCrindle p. 74. Frag. 28.

Kṛsara—Kaut. II. 12. 5., Patañjali VIII. 3.39 p. 439.12.

Saṣkult—Patañjali I. 1.47 p. 116.23.

Pāpa—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38.5.

Apāpa—Ibid. I. 2.45. p. 217. 13.

Piṣṭapīṇḍa—Ibid. II. 1.57 p. 399. 24.

² *Yava* (cultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127.

Yavāni (uncultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127., Patañjali IV. 1.49., p. 220.

³ *Siddhapiṣṭa* (Cakes)—Kaut. II. 15.41.

Yāvaka (a mess)—Kaut. II. 15.40.

Yavāgū (gruel)—Patañjali II. 1.36. p. 388.25.

Saktu (groats)—Patañjali I. 1. 57. p. 149. 11.

Yavāgū cooked with *Gavidbhukā* Ibid. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.

Dadhitaktu (curds with parched barley meal)—Patañjali. I. 1.49 and I. 1. 57.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 27, Kaut. II. 24.18.

⁵ The old pulses in common use were:—

Mudga—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Māṣa—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Masūra—Kaut. II. 24. 18.

Kulattba—Kaut. II. 24.18.

Kalāya Sūpa—(a soup prepared from pea)—Patañjali. V. 1.19 p. 344.18.

Rājamāṣa—Patañjali V. 1.20. p. 345. 25.

⁶ मापा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते।

Mahābhāṣya I. 127.

Kulmāṣa—Kaut. II. 15.

⁷ Kaut. II. 29.

day in the rainy season, autumn and winter, but only once in the spring and summer seasons.¹ Besides cow's milk, milk of buffaloes, sheep and goats was used. Clarified butter was prepared from the milk of these animals.² Curds and churned curds seem to have been popular as a person who sold the latter is mentioned.³ Other products of milk in common use were butter and butter milk. Kauṭilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to the dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (*Kārcikā*) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (*Kilāṭa*) to the cows with fodder.⁴

MEAT DIET

Kauṭilya mentions a superintendent of slaughter houses⁵ and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. He lays down that the flesh of those animals which had died a natural death, were killed outside the slaughter house, were giving out a foul smell or were devoid of head or bones should not be sold.⁶ He mentions a vendor of cooked meat and says that for dressing twenty *palas* of flesh, half a *kuduba* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharāṇas* of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds

¹ वर्षाशरद्धेमन्तानुभवतः कालं दुह्युः। शिशिरवसन्तग्रीष्मानेककालम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 29-30.

² क्षीरद्रोणे गवो धृतप्रस्थः। पञ्चभागाधिको महिषीणाम्। द्विभागाधिको ज्वावीनाम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 34-36.

³ *Dadhi* (curds) is mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour liquid substances (*dravāmlavarga*), Kaut. II. 12.5.

Matitika—(one who sells churned curds)—Patañjali V. 3.83. p. 425. 18.

⁴ *Haiyāṅgaṇa* (butter prepared from yesterday's milk) Patañjali V. 2.23. p. 375.2, 375.5.

Udaśvit (buttermilk).

उदश्विच्छ् ववराहेभ्यो दधुः।

Kaut. II. 29.25.

Kārcikā (solid part of inspissated milk)

कूर्चिकां सेनाभक्तार्थमाहरेयुः।

Kaut. II. 29.26.

Kilāṭa (inspissated milk)

किलाटो घाणपिण्याकवलेदार्यः।

Kaut. II. 29. 27.

⁵ *Sinādhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 26.

⁶ मृषपशूनामनस्थिमांसं सद्यो हतं विक्रीणीरन्। अस्थिमतः प्रतिपातं दधुः। वत्सो वृषो घेनुश्चैवामवध्याः। परिक्षूनमशिरः पादास्थि विगन्धं स्वयं मृतं च न विक्रीणीरन्।

Kaut. II. 26. 10-14.

are required¹. Fish and seasoned meat were also in common use.² Arrian's evidence shows that people in the hills were mostly non-vegetarians.³ Megasthenes states that Indian philosophers generally abstained from animal food.⁴

Aśoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and one deer.⁵ Animals were also killed in the *Samājas*.⁶ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that deer especially the *Sāraṅga* variety, and sheep were killed in Patañjali's

¹ *Pākevaṃśāsika* (cooked meat seller).

शौण्डिक पाक्वमांसिकौदनिक खया जीवा परिज्ञातमावसवेयुः।

Kaut. II. 33. 9.

मांसपलविशत्या स्नेहार्थं कुडुवः पलिको लवणस्पाशः क्षारपलयोगो द्विधरणिको कटकयोगो दध्नश्चार्थप्रस्थः।

Kaut. II. 15.66.

1 *Pala* = 25 *rattis*

1 *Dharapa* = 2½ *rattis*.

1 *Kaṇḍāba* = 22 *tolās*

1 *Prastha* = 29 *tolas*.

अथधान्यमाषद्विपलशतं द्रोणमात्रमानम्। सप्ताशीति पलशतमर्घपलं च व्यावहारिकम्। तेषामाढकप्रस्थकुडुवाश्चतुर्भागा वराः।

Kaut. II. 19. 32-36.

² शुष्कमत्स्यमांस कन्दमूलफलशकादि च शाकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.22.

Kautilya calls seasoned meat (*Vallūra*) Kaut. II. 4.35.

³ *Indika* XVI.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 99, Strabo XVI. 1.59.

⁵ इयं धंम लिपि देवानं पियेना पियदसिना लेखिता हिंसा ना किञ्चि जिवे आलभितु पजो-हितं पिये नोपि वा समाजं कटपिये बहुका हिंसा समाजं सा देवानां पिये पियदसी लाजा दलति अपि पि वा एकतिया समाजं साधुमता देवानं पियसा पिय दसिना लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पानं सहस्रानि आलभियिनु सुपठाये से इदानीं यद इयं धंम लिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि आलभियंति दुवे मज्जुला एके भिने आलभियंसिंति।

Rock Edict. I.

इमानि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि तानि यथा शुक्रः सारिका अरुणः चक्रवाकः हंसः नान्दीमुखः गेलाटः जतुकः अम्बाक पीलिका दुडिः, अनास्थिक मत्स्यः देव वेयकः (जीवं जीवकः)। गंगा पुपटक (गंगा कुक्कुटकः) संकुल मत्स्यः (शकुल मत्स्यः) कमठः शल्पः पर्णशशः सुमरः पण्डकः, अकपिण्डः, पृषतः श्वेत कपोतः, ग्राम कपोतः सर्वः चतुष्पदः यः परिभोगं न एति न च साधते। एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या पोतकाः अपि आवाग्मासिकाः। वर्धितः कुक्कुटकः न कर्तव्यः। तुषाः सजीवाः न दग्धव्यः। जीवेन जीवः न पोष्टव्यः। तिसृषु चानुमांसीषु तिष्ठेर्षीर्णमास्यां अवध्यः। नापि विन्नेतव्यः मोक्षा कृतः।

Pillar Edict. V.

Peacock was the only bird which is forbidden by the authors of *Smṛtis* but was eaten by Aśoka.

⁶ Kaut. (Mysore 1919), p. 45, Vinaya IV. 267, Mahāvastu. III. 57, 383. C.f. Mbh. Virata. II. 7. XIII. 15-16.

time for food and there were persons who were fond of flesh.¹ Flesh of deer was cooked with rice and fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones.² It seems that meat having much fat was relished.³ Flesh of village or town cocks and boars was generally avoided,⁴ and it seems that the Brāhmanas considered it improper to sell flesh.⁵

SWEETS

Honey was in common use⁶ but the products of sugarcane such as inspissated juice of sugarcane, *guḍa*, raw sugar, sugar-candy and refined sugar were quite popular.⁷ Even Megasthenes speaks very highly of Indian sugar.⁸ Besides the old sweets

¹ मांसोदनाय व्याहरति मृगः ।

अवेमांसम् ।

सारंग जन्धि ।

Māṃsasthila—Ibid. III. 2. 1. p. 95. 18.

² शकल कण्टकान् उत्सृजति ।

³ प्रवपानि मांसानि ।

⁴ अमदयो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटोऽमदयो ग्राम्यशूकरः ।

नागरोजपि न भक्ष्यते ।

⁵ मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् ।

⁶ Honey—Strabo. XV. 491, Patañjali I. 1.1., p. 18-19, Kauṭilya also mentions honey prepared from grapes :

शोणं माद्रीकं च मधु ।

⁷ Sugarcane—

Aelian mentions reeds which yielded very sweet milk which did not require honey to be mixed with it.

फाणितगुडमत्स्यण्डिकालज्जशर्कराः क्षार वरीः

Phāṇita (inspissated juice of sugarcane)—Kaut. II. 15.15.

Guḍa (molasses)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali I. 4.49 p. 333.3.

Matyaṇḍikā (sugar candy)—Kaut. Ibid.

Khaṇḍa (raw sugar)—Kaut. Ibid.

Śarkarā (granulated sugar)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali IV. 4. 83. p. 334.11.

⁸ Pliny says that the Indian sugar was better than the Arabian sugar (McCrimdle, p. 122). Megasthenes thought that the Indian sugarcandy was better than that prepared from figs or honey. (Megasthenes X, Strabo XV. 703).

Patañjali II. 3.1. p. 450-1.

Patañjali IV. 2. 60 p. 283-20.

Ibid. II. 2. 36. p. 437.21.

Ibid. I. 2.39. p. 912.6.

Ibid. VIII. 4.16 p. 458.12.

Ibid. I. 1.1., V. 16.

Ibid. VII. 3.14., p. 320-22.

Kielhorn. I. 25.

Kaut. II. 15.17.

McCrimdle, p. 143.

Kaut. II. 15.24.

Kaut. II. 15.15.

such as *apūpa*, *śaṣkūli* and *pālala* Patañjali mentions *Modakas*.¹

SALTS AND SPICES

Kautilya mentions a superintendent of salt² and six varieties of salt, rock salt from the Sindhu country, sea salt, *biḍa* salt, nitre, *śaṅkhalā* and *Udbbedaja*.³ Pliny speaks very highly of Indian pepper. The black pepper was considered agreeable to the palate and the white one less pungent.⁴ Other spices in common use were long pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, white mustard, coriander, cloves and turmeric.⁵ Four kinds of cardamom white, reddish white, short and black mottled and friable are mentioned but the green variety was much esteemed.⁶ Some other spices were also used.⁷ Aristobulos states that spikenard, cinnamon and other aromatics were produced in India.⁸

Vinegar was prepared from sugarcane juice, *gūḍa*, honey, inspissated juice of sugarcane, rose apple and jack fruits. A decoction of *meṣaśṛṅgi* and pepper was poured into it. Fruits such as cucumber, pieces of sugarcane, mango, and *āmālaka* (emblic myrobalan) were preserved in vinegar.⁹ Sour gruel was also used.¹⁰

¹ *Apūpa*—(sweet cakes)—See p. 88, f. n. 1.

Śaṣkūli—(sweet cakes)—Ibid.

Pālala—A kind of sweet meat made of *gūḍa*, sesamum and sugar, Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 6.

Modakas were generally prepared with wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with sugar—Patañjali V. 1.119 p. 366. 9.

² *Lavanādhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 12. Clitarchus mentions salt mines in his account of India. McCrindle, p. 99.

³ सैन्धवसामुद्रविडयवक्षारसौवर्चलोद्भेदजा लवणवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.16.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 121.

⁵ पिप्पलीमरीचशुङ्गिबेर्राजजिकिराततिक्तगौरसर्वपकुस्तुम्बुरुचोरकदमनकमह्वक शिग्रु-काण्डादिः कटुकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.21.

Cloves are also mentioned by Pliny (McCrindle, p. 122).

⁶ McCrindle, p. 125.

⁷ *Coraka*, *Damanaka*, *Maruvaka*, *Signa*, *Haritakā*, *Meṣaśṛṅga*.

⁸ McCrindle, p. 28.

⁹ इक्षुरसगुडमधुकाणितजाम्बवपनसामन्यतमो मेघशुङ्गी पिप्पली क्वाथाभिप्लुतो मासिकः पाण्मासिकः सांत्सरिको वा चिद्भिदोर्वास्केधुकाण्डाभ्रफलामलकावसुतः शुद्धो वा शुक्ल वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.

¹⁰ दधिधान्याम्लादि द्रवाम्ल वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.20.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

The important oil seeds were sesamum, safflower, linseed and mustard.¹ The Greek writers state that oil was extracted from sesamum and exported from India.² From Kautilya we learn that besides clarified butter and oil animal fats such as, scrum of flesh and pith were also used.³ Sesamum oil was kept in wooden or earthen vessels and used in frying,⁴ but other oils may also have been used in cooking.⁵ From the Mahābhāṣya we infer that it was considered improper for a Brāhmaṇa to sell oil.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the Greek sources we learn that figs, grapes, banana and tamarind⁷ were in common use, but *Karamarda*, *Parūṣaka*, mango, emblic myrobalan, citrus medica, the three varieties of jujube, rose apple, cucumber, palm fruit and *rājādāna*⁸ were also eaten. Mango gardens were planted by Aśoka himself.⁹ Patañjali mentions *bimba* (momordica monodelpha), pomegranates, and

¹ Kaut. II. 15, II. 24.18.

² McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo. XV. 491, Indika XV. C.7.

³ सपिस्तैल वसामञ्जानः स्नेहाः।

Kaut. II. 15.14.

⁴ उच्चैर्धान्यस्य निक्षेपो मूताः क्षारस्य संहताः। मृत्काष्ठ-कोष्ठाः स्नेहस्य पृथिवी लवणस्य च।

Kaut. II. 15.84.

⁵ Other substances from which oil was extracted were *nimba*, *kusa*, *āśura*, *kapittha*, *madbhūka*, and *Iṅgudā*.

षट्कं तैलमतस्तीनाम्। निम्बकुशाञ्जकपित्वादीनां च पञ्चभागः। चतुर्भागिका-
स्तिलकुसुम्भमधूकेक्षुदीस्नेहः।

Kaut. II. 15. 49-51.

⁶ तैलं न विव्रेतव्यम्।

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn (1892) I, p. 25.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 120. Strabo XV. 492.

⁸ वृक्षाम्लकरमर्दाञ्जविदलामलकमातुलुङ्गकोलवदरसौवीरकपर्णवकादिफलाम्लवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.19.

Jambū (rose apple), *panasa* (bread fruit), *cidbhūja* (cucumber).
nyāraṅka (a kind of cucumber) are mentioned in Kaut. II. 15.

यवमाषतिलपलाशपीलुक्षारैर्गोक्षीराजक्षीरैर्बा कदली वज्रकन्द प्रतीवापो मार्दव करः।

Kaut. II. 12. 9.

Tālapāla (palm fruit)

Kaut. II. 12.2.

Rājādāna

Kaut. II. 17.4.

Mṛdvikā (grapes)

Kaut. II. 24.31.

Cīta (mango)

Kaut. II. 12.2.

⁹ Pillar Edict. VII.

grapes.¹ Some of these fruits may have been imported from neighbouring countries.

Among vegetables Kautilya refers to roots, fruits and tubers² as also fruits gathered from creepers.³ The roots mentioned are *Piṇḍāluka* and *Vajrakanda* (*Sūraṇa*).⁴ Pot herbs are called *Sāka* or *Haritaka*.⁵ Of the flowers *Kavidāra*, and of the beans pea were used as vegetables.⁶ It appears from Patañjali that onions were mostly eaten by non-vegetarians⁷ and sometimes used to flavour liquors.⁸ He uses the word *Sākabhojin* i.e. a consumer of vegetables.⁹

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Megasthenes states that the Indians drank only at the religious ceremonies;¹⁰ but this does not seem to be the actual state of affairs in view of the account of Kautilya. There was a superintendent of liquors.¹¹ The liquor shops had many rooms provided with beds and seats and other comforts such as scents and garlands.¹² These shops were situated at stated intervals and

¹ *Bimba* (momordica monodelpha)—Patañjali I. 1.58 p. 153.13.

Dādima (pomegranate)—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 5.

Mṛdūlkā (grapes)—Patañjali VI. 3. 42 p. 158.16.

Kavala (jujube)—Patañjali IV. 3.170. p. 323. 5.

² कन्दमूलफलद्विरोधधर्मः।

Kaut. II. 17.11.

शुष्कमत्स्यमांसकन्दमूलफलशाकादि च शाक वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.22.

³ केनाघातो वल्लीफलानां, परीवाहान्ताः मूढीकेलूणां, कूपपर्वन्तशाकमूलानां, हरिण-पर्वन्ताः हरितकानां, पाल्योलवानां गन्धर्भपञ्चोशीरह्नीवेर पिण्डालुकानाम्।

Kaut. II. 24.31.

पुण्यफलशाकमूलकन्दशालिलव्यबीज शुष्कमत्स्यमांसानां पदभागं गृह्णीयात्।

Kaut. II. 22.4.

⁴ *Piṇḍāluka*—Kaut. II. 24.31.

Vajrakanda—Kaut. II. 12.9.

⁵ Kaut. II. 15.22, II. 22.4, II. 24.31.

⁶ *Kavidāra*—Kaut. II. 12.7.

Kalāya (Pea) Ibid.

⁷ Patañjali II. 2.36. p. 437.21.

⁸ अयं पलाण्डुना सुरां पिबेत्।

Mahābhāṣya, p. 419. 4.

⁹ Patañjali II. 1.69 p. 406.7.

¹⁰ McCrindle, p. 27, Strabo. XV. 709.

¹¹ *Sūradhyakṣa* II. 25.1.

¹² पानागाराव्यनेककक्ष्याणि विभक्तशयनासनवन्ति पानोद्देशानि गन्धमाल्योदकवल्गु-सुखानि कारयेत्।

Kaut. II. 15.12.

liquor was sold to persons of well known character in small quantities.¹ Manufacture of wine was a state monopoly but on festive occasions the right of private manufacture of beer for four days was recognised on payment of licence fees.² Women were employed to remove the fermented drugs.³ From Patañjali we learn that there were some people who could drink a complete jar of wine through a pipe made of reeds.⁴ As stated above sometimes liquors were flavoured with the juice of onions.⁵

According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink in India; but Kautilya gives, a detailed account of the method and ingredients of various other intoxicating drinks. *Medaka*⁶ and *Prasannā*⁷ were manufactured from rice. In an *Āsava* extract of *Kapitttha* and inspissated juice of sugarcane were the principal

¹ Kaut. II. 25.

² Kaut. II. 25.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The distilling apparatus resembled the trunk of an elephant, hence a distiller was called *Sundin* (Patañjali IV. 1.52. p. 246-26). *Ghaṭinidbama* and *Nāḍinidbama*—Patañjali III. 2.29, p. 102. 15-16.

⁵ Mahābhāṣya p. 419.4.

⁶ In preparing *Medaka* one *droṇa* of water, half an *āḍhaka* of rice and three *prasthas* of yeast cake were used. The ten ingredients mixed with it were *pāṭhā*, *lodhra*, *tejovātī*, *clavulūka*, *madhu* (honey), *madhūka*, *dūrva*, *priyaṅgu*, *dāru-baridrā*, black pepper, and long pepper.

मेदकप्रसन्नासवारिष्टभैरेयमधूनामुदकद्रोणम् ।

तण्डुलानामर्धाढकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किण्वस्येति मेदकयोगः ।

Kaut. II. 25.7.

माषकल्कीद्रोणमामं सिद्धं वा त्रिभागाधिकतण्डुलं मोरटादीनां कार्षिकभागयुक्तः किण्ववन्धः ।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

पाठालोप्रतेजोवत्येलावालुकामधुमधुरसाप्रियङ्गुदाहृदिद्रामरिचपिण्डीनां च पञ्चकार्षिकः संभारयोगो मेदकस्य प्रसन्नायाश्च ।

Kaut. II. 25.27.

⁷ In the preparation of *Prasannā* 12 *āḍhakas* of rice flour, five *prasthas* of *Kippa*, and some other spices were required.

द्वादशाढकं पिष्टस्य पञ्चप्रस्थाः किण्वस्य पुत्रकत्वक् फलयुक्तो वा जाति संभारः प्रसन्नायोगः ।

Kaut. II. 25.18.

From Patañjali we know that it had often an oily substance.

बहुतैलम् प्रसन्नाः ।

Patañjali V. 3.66. p. 421.17.

ingredients,¹ while *Ariṣṭa* was a tincture of medicines.² *Maireya* was a spiced liquor prepared from the bark of *meṣasṛṅgī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*) and was a favourite drink of the nobles.³ Wines from grapes were in common use.⁴ The two famous varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hāyabūṛaka* were imported from Afghanistan.⁵ Kauṭilya mentions five varieties of *surā*, including *svetasurā*, *bijottarā* and *sāmbhārikī*. In *Sabakārasurā* the juice of mango fruit and in *rasottarā* treacle were the chief ingredients; the other three were spiced liquors.⁶ Palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors according to Greek authorities.⁷ Kauṭilya observed that the effects of drunkenness are loss of wealth, insanity, absence of consciousness, loss of knowledge, life, wealth and friends, desertion by virtues and suffering from pain.⁸ It appears from the *Mahābhāṣya* that there was a belief among the Indians that a Brāhmaṇa woman who indulged in drinking would be deprived of her husband's company in the next world.⁹

¹ In the manufacture of *āsava* hundred *palas* of the extract of *Kapittha*, 500 *palas* of inspissated juice of sugarcane and one *prastha* of honey were used.

कपित्थं तुला फणितं पञ्चतौलिकं प्रस्थो मधुन इत्यासव योः ।

Kaut. II. 25. 19.

चोचचित्रकविडङ्गमज्जपिप्पलीनां च पञ्चकषिकः क्रमुकमधुकमुस्तालोघ्राणां द्विकषिकदनासवसंभारः ।

Kaut. II. 25. 29.

² चिकित्सक प्रमाणाः प्रत्येकयो विकाराणामरिष्टाः ।

Kaut. II. 25. 21.

³ *Maireya* was a decoction of the bark of *meṣasṛṅgī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*), *gṇḍa*, powdered long pepper and black pepper or powder of *haritakī*, *āmālaka* and *vibhītaka* instead of long pepper.

मेघशृङ्गित्वकं नवायामिपुतो गुड प्रतीवापः पिप्पलीमरिचसंभारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो वा मैरेयः ।

Kaut. II. 25. 22.

⁴ मृदीका रसो मधु ।

Kaut. II. 25. 24.

⁵ तस्य स्वदेशो व्याख्यानं कापिशायनं हारहूरकमिति ।

Kaut. II. 25. 25.

⁶ *Surā*—Patañjali I. 2.62. p. 242. 25.

Same spices were used in the manufacture of *svetasurā* as are used in preparing *prasannā* variety.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 126, Pliny XIV. C. 16(19).

⁸ पानं संपत् संज्ञा नाशोऽनुन्मत्तस्योन्मत्तत्वमप्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वं कौपीनदर्शनं श्रुतप्रज्ञाप्रणवित्तमित्र हानिः, सद्भिर्वियोगोऽनर्थं संयोगस्तन्त्रीगीतनैपुण्येषु चार्थक्षेत्रेषु प्रसङ्ग इति ।

Kaut. VIII. 3. 65.

⁹ वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनम् देवाः पतिलोके नयन्ति ।

Patañjali. III. 2.8., p. 99.8.

OTHER BEVERAGES

Other beverages were curds, buttermilk, sour gruel, fruit juices and a syrup prepared from molasses.¹ Aśoka also realised the importance of providing drinking water to his people, so he had wells dug at short intervals.²

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The culinary art was so well developed that Kauṭilya could specify the quantities of grain which remained after pounding, cleaning, rubbing between stones, grinding and roasting.³ He also states the increase in different grains after cooking and the quantity of oil which one could get from different oil seeds.⁴ He mentions the quantity of spices and fats required for cooking meat, and states that half that quantity is required for cooking pot herbs and double that quantity for cooking dry vegetables.⁵ Grains, moistened and soaked to sprouting condition, are also mentioned. There were cooks expert in cooking vegetables and pulses, in boiling rice, in preparing cakes and shopkeepers who especially sold cooked meat.⁶

Kauṭilya lays down that the kitchen should be in a safe place and the superintendent of the kitchen should taste every

¹ *Dadhi* (curds)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Dhānyāmīla (sour gruel)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Gūḍodaka (syrup prepared from molasses)—Patañjali. I. 4.3. p. 310.14.

² Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict. II.

³ क्षुण्णवृष्टपिष्टभृष्टानामाद्रशुष्कसिद्धानां च धान्यानां वृद्धिसवप्रमाणानि कुर्वीत।

Kaut. II. 15.26.

⁴ कोद्रवव्रीहीणामर्धसारः। शालीनामर्धभागोनः। त्रिभागोनः वरकाणाम्। त्रियङ्गुणामर्ध सारः। नवभाग वृद्धिश्च। उदारकस्तुल्यः यवागौधूमाश्च क्षुण्णाः। तिलायवा मुद्ग माषाश्च भृष्टाः। पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोधूमः सप्तवक्च। पादोला कलायचमसी। मुद्ग माषाणामर्ध पादोनः। शैम्बानामर्धसारः। त्रिभागोनः मसूराणाम्। पिष्टमामं कुल्माषाश्चाध्यर्ध गुणाः। द्विगुणोयावकः। पुलाकः पिष्टं च सिद्धम्। कोद्रवकरकोदारकप्रियङ्गूणाम् त्रिगुणमन्नम् अतुर्गुण व्रीहीणाम्। पञ्चगुणं शालीनाम्। तिमितमवरात्रं द्विगुणमर्धाधिकविरूढानाम्। पञ्चभागवृद्धिः भृष्टानाम्। कलायो द्विगुणः। लाजा भरुजाश्च।

Kaut. II. 15. 27-48.

⁵ शाकानामध्यर्धं गुणः। शुष्काणां द्विगुणः स चैव योगः।

Kaut. II. 15. 68-69.

⁶ कणिका दासकर्मकारसूपकाराणामतोव्यदौदनिकापूषिकेभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्।

Kaut. II. 15.81.

See p. 90, f. n. 1 for पाक्वमांसिक

preparation before it is served.¹ He also mentions the symptoms of poisoned food articles.² The common kitchen implements in use were a weighing balance, weights, grinding stones, mortar and pestle, a winnowing basket, a sieve, a broom, a basket and a small box for spices etc. The contrivances for pounding rice and splitting pulses had also come into use.³

Strabo mentions that copper vessels were most common and the brazen ones were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness.⁴ The common utensils were water jars, water pots, jars for storing grains, cooking pots, bowls, dishes and cups.⁵ Bronze vessels were also in use.⁶ Bowls, plates and water-vessels are depicted in Bhārhut sculptures.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The duty of extending hospitality to guests and making offerings of food to gods and forefathers was considered so important that even a book on polity like *Ārthaśāstra* lays it

¹ गुप्ते देशे माहानसिकः सर्वमास्वादवाहुल्येन कर्म कारयेत् । ८। तद्व्राजा तथैव प्रतिभुञ्जीत पूर्वमनये व्योम्यदच बलिं कृत्वा । ९।

Kaut. I. 21. 8-9.

² Kaut. I. 21. 10-19.

³ तुलामानभागं रोचनी दूषन्मुसलोलूखलकुट्टकरोचकपन्नपत्रकशूपचालनिकाकण्डोली पिटकसंमार्जन्यश्चोपकरणानि ।

Kaut. II. 15. 82.

⁴ McCrindle.

⁵ Patañjali mentions the following utensils :

Ghaṭikā (a small water jar) I. 1.1. p. 7.13.

Kuṇḍikā (a water pot) I. 4.44. p. 102.12.

Kumbha (a water jar) I. 1.58. p. 153.1.

Kumbhī (a jar for storing grains) I. 3.7. p. 264-2.

Kuṇḍa (a bowl) I. 1.1. p. 38L. 5.

*Sthālī** (a cooking pot) IV. 1.1. p. 194L. 17.

Ukṣā (A boiler) IV. 1.6. p. 202L. 13.

Piṭhara (a pot pan) I. 4.101. p. 350L. 21.

Sarāva (a small dish) I. 1.72. p. 189.24.

Tailaghaṭa (a jar for storing oil) II. 1.1. p. 364L. 18.

Caru IV. 2.7. p. 273.12.

* *Sthālī* has all along been used in the sense of a cooking pot, hence *Sthālīpāka*, offerings cooked in a cooking pot. It does not mean a dish as explained by Dr. B.N. Puri (India in the Time of Patañjali, p. 100). Also see Appendix V.

⁶ बहुक्षीरघृतमोदन क्वांस्यपात्र्यां भुञ्जीरश्निति ।

Patañjali VIII. 2.3. p. 388-12.

⁷ Cunningham Bhārhut Plate XXVIII Figs. 2. and 3, Plate XL Fig. 3.

down among the duties of a householder and a hermit.¹ Food was also set apart for servants and birds etc. before the householder took his meals.²

From the Mahābhāṣya it appears that the Sakas and Yavanas were allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.³ A student and a hermit were expected to live on alms, while a forester lived on the roots, fruits and tubers gathered from the forest.⁴ Strabo says that the students avoided meat diet while the householders did not eat the flesh of animals employed in labour. They also abstained from hot and highly seasoned food.⁵ The Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas, and the hermits were allowed to take fruits which had fallen themselves and the gleanings of corn.⁶

From the account of Megasthenes we learn that when an Indian was at supper a table was placed before him. On this table a golden bowl was placed in which boiled rice and other dainties were served.⁷ This account, no doubt, refers to the rich at whose residences vessels of gold were used daily. The Mahābhāṣya states that all those who took their meals in a standing

¹ गृहस्थस्य स्वकर्माजीवस्तुल्यै रस मानविभिर्वैवाह्यमुतुगामित्व देवपित्रतिथिभूत्येषु त्याग-
शेषभोजनं च ।

Kaut. I. 3.9.

वानप्रस्थस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं भूमौ शय्या जटाजिनधारजमग्निहोत्राभिषेकौ देवतापित्रतिथि-
पूजा वन्यवचाहारः ।

Kaut. I. 3.11.

² तद्राजा तथैव प्रतिभुञ्जीत पूर्वमनये वयोभ्यश्च बलिं कृत्वा ।

Kaut. I. 21.9.

³ Patañjali on Pāṇini II. 4.10.

शूद्राणांश्च अनिरवस्थितानाम् ।

Also see I.H.Q. Vol. XV. No. 4, Dec. 1939.

Date of Patañjali's Mahabhasya—D.C. Sircar.

⁴ ब्रह्मचारिणः स्वाध्यायोऽग्निकार्याभिषेकौ भैक्षव्रतत्वमाचार्ये प्राणान्तिकी वृत्तिस्तदभावे
गुरुपुत्रे स ब्रह्मचारिणि वा ।

Kaut. I. 3.10.

परिव्राजकस्य संयतेन्द्रियत्वमनारम्भो निष्किंचित्त्वं सङ्कल्पानो भैक्षमनेकारण्य
वासो बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं च शीचम् ।

Kaut. I. 3.12.

For a hermit see p. 99, f. n. 1 above.

⁵ McCrindle, 'Ancient India,' pp. 98 ff.

⁶ प्रशीर्णं च पुष्पफलं देवकार्यार्थं श्रीहि यवमाग्नयनार्थं श्रोत्रिवास्तपस्विश्चाहरेयुः ।
राशिमूलमुञ्चवृत्तयः ।

Kaut. II. 25.41-42.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. XXVIII.

posture were regarded as *Abrahmaṇa* (not fulfilling the duties of a *Brāhmaṇa*).¹ Dinner etiquette required that the servers should not partake of the meals while the guests were eating.²

The meal of a gentleman, according to Kauṭilya, consisted of one *prastha* of pure unbroken rice, one fourth of a *prastha* of pulses, one sixty-fourth part of a *prastha* of salt and one sixteenth part of a *prastha* of clarified butter or oil. For menial-servants the quantity of pulses prescribed is one sixth of a *prastha* and the quantity of oil or clarified butter half of that prescribed for a gentleman. He lays down that women should be provided with three fourths of the above quantities and children only half of what is prescribed for a gentleman.³ Bran was given to blacksmiths and labourers and broken pieces of rice to slaves, servants and cooks who cooked soups, rice and cakes.⁴ The rice used by the king was so highly polished that only five parts of polished rice were considered edible by a king out of twenty parts of unhusked rice.⁵

Greek writers attribute the good health of Indians to simplicity of their food and abstinence from wine.⁶ They state that the physicians lived frugally on rice and meal which were freely supplied by the masses.⁷

The *Mahābhāṣya* gives two words for invitation, *Niman-*

¹ Patañjali on II. 2.6.

² ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्ताम्, माठरकी इडिन्यो परिवेविष्टाम् इति न इवान्ती भुञ्जन्ते।

Patañjali I. 1.2. p. 28.L. 14.

³ अन्नपण्डपरिशुद्धानां वा तण्डुलानां प्रस्थः । चतुर्भागः सूपः सूपपण्डशो लवणस्यांशः चतुर्भागः सर्पिषस्तैलस्य वा एकमार्गमवतम् । प्रस्थपण्डभागः सूपः अर्घस्नेहमवराणाम् । पादोनं स्त्रीणाम् । अर्घं बालानाम् ।

Kaut. II. XV. 61-65.

20 rice grains = 1 *dharapa*
10 *dharapa* = 1 *pala* = 25 *rattis*
112½ *pala* = 1 *prastha* = about 29 tolas.

⁴ Here the ideal laid down in the *Smṛtis*, that the same food should be served to the servants which the householder takes himself, is not adhered to. This statement of Kauṭilya possibly reflects the actual state of affairs.

अङ्गारांस्तुपांस्तोहकमन्तिभित्तिलेप्यानां हारयेत् । कणिका दासकर्मकरसूपकाराणामतोऽप्यदीनिकापूपिकेभ्यः प्रयच्छेत् ।

Kaut. II. 15. 80-81.

⁵ पञ्चद्रोणे शालीनाम् पञ्चकम् राज्ञाम् ।

Kaut. II. 15.60.

⁶ Nearchus Frag. XV., Strabo XV E. 706.

⁷ Strabo Sec. LX.

traya and *Amantraya*. The former was an invitation to take food at sacrifices or a *śrāddha*, the acceptance of which was obligatory. If rejected, without a proper cause, it involved a sin while the latter was a friendly invitation and could be rejected freely.¹ Invitations were generally extended to members of one's own caste.² There were some Brāhmaṇas who did not accept invitation to obsequial dinners.³ In certain feasts, only one food preparation was served; for example only *Vatakas* were served on a particular full moonday.⁴ In Patañjali's time boiled rice was considered a decent dish to feast Brāhmaṇas and friends.⁵ There were some persons who ate only rice⁶ while in the Sālva country (Alwar-Bikaner region) people were fond of *Yavāgā*.⁷

To conclude, we may note some new features in the food habits during this period. Only two crops are mentioned in the Sūtras but Kauṭilya mentions a third one, mainly consisting of pulses. Some new cereals such as *dāraka* and *varaka* were used and wheat became more popular. To the pulses pea and *rājamāṣa* seem to have been the new additions. Some new vegetables such as *sūraṇa* and *Kovidāra* flowers and fruits such as pomegranates, and grapes were used. For seasoning some new spices coriander, cardamom and cloves were used but oil was still considered exotic as its sale by Brāhmaṇas is interdicted. Onions were mostly used by non-vegetarians. People in the hills as stated above, were mostly non-vegetarians. Perhaps there was now a much greater variety of intoxicating drinks and some people took food in a standing posture probably as a result of contact with the foreign elements which had entered India during the period.

¹ एवं तत् हि यन्नियोगतः कर्तव्यं तन्निमन्त्रणम् ।

Patañjali III. 1.161. p. 165 L.13-15.

² अन्योन्यम् इमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयन्तः ।

Patañjali VIII. 1.14. p. 370 L. 19.

³ अश्राद्धभोजी ब्राह्मणः ।

Patañjali III.2. 80. p. 109. L.19.

⁴ वटकिन्नी पौर्णमासी ।

Patañjali V. 2. 82. p. 388. L.20.

⁵ Patañjali on I. 1.72. and I. 1.82.

⁶ श्रोतवन् भोजकः ।

Patañjali on II. 3.70.

⁷ Patañjali on VII. 3.69.

SECTION 2 (THE EPICS AND THE MANUSMṚITI)

There is wide divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of epics. Dr. Winternitz, for instance, says, "The Mahābhārata cannot have received the present form earlier than fourth century B.C. and later than fourth century A.D."¹ But no student of the social aspects of ancient history can afford to neglect the vast material provided by the two epics. Hence, it is proposed to study the conditions relating to food habits in this period in a separate section. A word may also be said for the inclusion of Manusmṛiti material in this section. Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, as a result of his researches, had come to the conclusion that most probably the credit of shaping the Mahābhārata into the present form belongs to the Bhārgavas and according to a tradition the Manusmṛiti is the ancient code of Manu as communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu. It is also recognized that there is an intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛiti. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in the Mahābhārata. All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata in its present form, with all the didactic material in the Sānti and the Anuśāsana Parvas, and the Manusmṛiti may be regarded as contemporary works.²

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the epics, the food has been classified into four varieties, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey.³ Rice appears to be the staple foodgrain in Ayodhyā as well as in the land of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.⁴ Of the rice preparations, parched rice,

¹ Winternitz—H.I.L., p. 465.

² Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Epic Studies VI. (Sukthankar Memorial Edition) 1944, pp. 334-335. Dr. Sukthankar puts the order of the composition as original Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, pp. 336-337.

³ भक्ष्यं भोज्यं च चोष्यं च लेह्यं च विविधं बहु ।

Rama. Ay. 91-20.

भक्ष्यैर्भोज्यैश्च रसवद्भिर्महाधनैः ।

Mbh. Adī. 222.19.

लेह्यं चोष्यं च पेयं च हृद्यं स्वादु मनोहरम् ।

Mbh. Sabha. 8.6.

⁴ शालितण्डुलसम्पूर्णाभिदुकाण्डरसोदकम् ।

Rama. Bal. 5.17.

boiled rice, milk rice, *Kṛsara* and *Saṣkuli* were the most common.¹ Of the barley preparations groats, *Yavāgū*, *Dhānāḥ*, *Yāvaka* and *Apūpa* continued to be popular.² *Vātya* was a gruel prepared

- अन्नकूटाश्च दृश्यन्ते बहवः पर्वतोपमाः ।
 उष्णाह्वस्यीवनस्यात्र राशयः पर्वतोपमाः ।
 पुष्पध्वजवतीः पूर्णाः शुक्लस्याश्रयश्च चामितः ।
 ओदनं कुम्भशः कृत्वा पुरोधाः समुपाहरत्, सुमनोभिः विचित्राभिरवूषैः कृतरेण च ।
¹ *Lājā* (parched rice)
 इक्षूश्च मधुलाजाश्च भोजयन्तिस्मवाहनान् ।
 सुमनोभिश्च विवाभिलिखैश्चैवचैरपि ।
Odana (boiled rice)—Rama Bal. 53.3, Mbh. Asv. 65.12.
Pāyasa (milk rice)—
 पायसं कृसरं छागं वृथा सोऽनासु निषूणः ।
 पायसं कृसरं मांसमपूपाश्च वृथा कृताः ।
Kṛsara—Rama. Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Santi. 36.33, Asv. 65.12.
 यावकं कृसरं मांसं शण्डकुली पायसं तथा ।
Saṣkuli—Mbh. Anu. 161.43.
² *Yava* (barley)
 ते यवाश्चा जनपदागोधूमाश्चास्तथैव च,
 तान् देशान् संश्रयिष्यन्ति युगा ते पर्वुपस्थिते ।
 C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3.
Yavāgū—
 सुवृतं पायसे दूयाद्यवाभ्यां कृतरे तथा ।
 संस्कृतं पायसे नित्यं यवागूं कृसरं हविः ।
Yāvaka—Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Anu. 161.43.
Apūpa—
 रसालापूपकादिचित्रान् मोदकानयखाण्डवान् ।
 Mbh. Santi. 36.33; Asv. 65.12.
Saktu—
 कणकुल्माषपिण्याकशाकयावकसक्तवः ।
 C.f. Mbh. Santi. 215.22; Anu. 161.91.
Karambha—Mbh. Santi. 36.33,

with parched barley.¹ Wheat preparations were not so common.²

Some inferior grains such as *Kodrava* were probably eaten by the poor.³ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulatttha* (horsegram) and gram (*Canaka*) had come into use.⁴ The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions a foodgrain called *Bhadra*; probably it is an inferior grain known as *Bhadain* near Banaras.⁵ *Kulmāṣa*, besides wild rice and broken pieces of rice, was the food of the poor and the ascetics.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides foodgrains milk formed an important item of food.⁷ The *Brāhmaṇas* were not allowed to drink milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women, and a cow which had recently calved.⁸ Milk-rice continued to be a favourite preparation. Honey was

¹ *Dhānāb*—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

धाना गौद्यासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं शयुनैः सह।

अपूपमांसवाद्यानामाशिनः शीलवज्रिताः।

Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

² *Godhūma* (wheat)—Mbh. Van. 190.44.

³ अश्राद्धयानि धान्यानि कीदृशाः पुलकास्तथा।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

⁴ चणकानां कुलत्थानां माषाणां लवणस्य च।

अतोऽनुरूपं स्नेहं च गन्धं संक्षिप्तमेव च।

Rama. Ut. 91.20.

Sāpa (cooked pulses) मृष्टान्नानि च सूपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तथैव च।

Rama. Bal. 53.3.

C.f. Manu. III. 226.

⁵ शालि वाहसहस्रं च द्वे शते भद्रकास्तथा।

Rama. Ay. 32.20.

⁶ कणकुलमापिप्याकशाकयावकसक्तवः।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्ष्यं पर्यायेणोपयोजयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

C.f. Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 91.73; Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

⁸ एडकाश्च खरोट्टीणां सूतिकानां गवामपि।

मानुषीणां मृगीणां च न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणः पयः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.25.

Manu prohibits the use of milk of a cow whose milk was not allowed by the Sūtras:—

शेक्षु गव्यं च पेयुषं प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत्।६

अनिर्दशायाः गोः क्षीरमीक्ष्मैकशफं तथा।

प्राविकं सन्निधीक्षीरं विवत्सायाश्च गोः पयः।७

आरण्यानां च सर्वेषां मृगाणां माहिषं विना

स्त्रीक्षीरं चैव वज्यानि सर्वशुक्तानि चैव हि।

Manu. V. 6.9.

used to sweeten it and clarified butter to make it more tasteful.¹ Curds² and *Rasālā*, the fine sweet preparation from them, were very popular.³ Buttermilk and clarified butter were also in common use.⁴ Manu lays down that curds and its preparations could be eaten even if they had turned sour.⁵

MEAT DIET

The Kṣatriyas generally took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.⁶ Rāma and Bharata are said to have

¹ दिव्यपायससम्पूर्णं पात्रीं पत्नीमिव प्रियाम् ।

Rama. Bal. 16.15.

मोदकैः पायसेनाथ मांसैश्चोपहरेद् बलिम् ।

Mbh. Asv. 65.4.

साज्येन पायसेनैव मधुना मिथितेन च ।

Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 75.30, 91.72, 91.69, Mbh. Anu. 136.49, Santi. 36.33.

² मृष्टान्नानि च सूपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.3.

घृतं दधि च लाजांश्च दक्षिणाश्चापि पुष्कलाः ।

Rama. Ay. 3.16.

यावके दधि-मुग्धे च सावित्री शतशोन्विताम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

Rama. Ay. 91.73, Mbh. Anu. 161.99, Asv. 35.39.

³ यौवनस्थस्य गौरस्य कपित्थस्य सुगन्धिनः ।

हृद्यः पूर्णा रसालस्य दध्नः श्वेतस्य चापरे ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

रसाला कर्दमा नद्योवभूवुर्भरतवर्ध ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.40.

अपश्वतक्रं सव्योषं चतुर्जातगुडाद्रिकं

सजीरकं रसालं स्यान्मज्जिका शिलरिणीः ।

Vaijayanti.

सव्योषम्—शुष्की पिप्पली मरिच युक्तम् ।

चतुर्जातम्—एला लवङ्ग कनकोल नाग पुष्पाणि ।

⁴ In the Rama. Ay. 91.73 the word *Kapittha* is used for butter milk. *Sarpī*

दधि कुल्याश्च ददृशुः सपिशश्च हृदाम् जनाः

Mbh. Asv. 85.39.

Ājya—Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

Rama. Ay. 3.16, Mbh. Anu. 136.4, Asv. 85.39.

⁵ दधि भक्ष्यं च शुकतेषु सर्वं च दधिसंभवम् ।

Manu. V. 10.

C.f. Manu. II. 59, III. 226.

⁶ क्षत्रियाणां तु यो दृष्टो विधिस्तमपि मे शृणु ।

वीर्येणोपाजितं मांसं यथाभुज्जन दुष्यति ।

Mbh. Anu. 116.15.

taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest.¹ Meat cooked with rice was probably the favourite dish of Sitā.² Birds and fish were also eaten.³ The food of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kāmyaka forest consisted of many kinds of deer.⁴ The Kṣatriyas were not always in a position to offer it to gods so even unsanctified meat was allowed to them.⁵ Duryodhana also used to eat rice cooked with flesh.⁶ Damayantī asked her maid-servant to bring meat prepared by her husband.⁷ At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten.⁸

As for Brāhmaṇas we know that many animals were killed

न मे तत्र मनस्तापो न मन्युर्हरिपुङ्गव
बागुराभिश्च पाशैश्च कूटैश्च विविधैर्नराः।३७
यान्ति राजर्वशचात्र मृगयां धर्मकोविदाः।४०

Rama. Ay. 18. 37-40

¹ ती तत्र हत्वा वनुरो महामृगान् वराहमूष्यं पृषत् महारुम्
आवाय मेघ्यं त्वरितं वृभुक्षितौ वासाय काले ययतुर्वनस्पतिम्।

Rama. Ay. 52.102.

² सुरा घटसहस्रेण मांसमूतीदनेन च।
यस्यै त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता।

Rama. Ay. 52.89.

³ धृतपिण्डोपमान् स्पृशांस्तान् द्विजान् भक्षयिष्यथ।
रोहितांश्चक्रतुण्डांश्च नलमीनांश्च राघव।

Rama. Aran. 73.12.

गमनाय मतिं चक्रे तं प्रोवाच सरस्वती
न गन्तव्यमितः पुत्र तवाहारमहं सदा।३६।
दास्यामि मत्स्यप्रवरानुप्यतामिह भारत।
इत्युक्तस्तर्पयामास स पितृन् देवतांस्तथा।४०।

Mbh. Salya. 51.39-40.

⁴ वानेयं च मृगांश्चैव शुद्धैर्बाणैर्निपातितान्।
ब्राह्मणानां निवेद्याश्रमभुञ्जन् पुरुषर्षभाः।४।
रुक्नु कृष्णमृगांश्चैव मेघ्याश्चान्यान् वने चरान्।
बाणैश्चमथ्य विविधैर्बाह्मणैर्भ्यो न्यवेदयत्।७।

Mbh. Van. 50.7.

⁵ Mbh. Anu. 116.15, see p. 105, f. n. 6.

⁶ आच्छादयति प्रावरानश्नाति पिसितीदनम्।
अजाने यावहृत्यश्वः केनासि हरिणः कृवाः।

Mbh. Sabha. 49.9.

⁷ पुनर्गच्छ प्रमत्तस्य बाहुकस्योपसंस्कृतम्।
महानसाक्षितं मांसमानस्वेह भाविनि।

Mbh. Van. 75.20.

⁸ उच्चावचान् मृगान् जघ्नुर्मैघ्यांश्च शतशः पशून्।
सुरामेरेयपानानि प्रभूतान्यम्यहारयन्।

Mbh. Virat. 72.28.

at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.¹ In the palace of Rantideva, it is said, two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat was distributed probably to the Brāhmaṇas.² The Pāṇḍavas offered the meat of animals to Brāhmaṇas.³ On the occasion of a Śrāddha Brāhmaṇas were generally fed with meat diet.⁴ All this shows that a considerable section of this community had no objection to taking nonvegetarian diet. People belonging to other castes, as well, used meat, for it is said to be the food of the rich. The shop of a meat vendor was crowded by a number of purchasers.⁵ But persons observing a vow generally avoided meat diet.⁶

Some other people, who were outside the Aryan influence,

¹ तं तं देवं समुद्दिश्य पक्षिणः पशवश्च ये ।
ऋषभाः शास्त्रपठितास्तथा जलचराश्च ये ।
सर्वास्तान्भक्ष्यंजुस्ते तत्राग्निवद्यकर्मणि ।

Mbh. Asv. 34.88.

भक्ष्यसाण्डवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा
पशूनां वध्यतां चैव नान्तं ददृशुरे जनाः ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

² अहन्महनिवध्यते द्वे सहस्रे गवां तथा ।
स मांसं दत्तोल्लभं रन्तिदेवस्य नित्यशः ।

Mbh. Van. 208.9.

³ Mbh. Van. 50.7. See p. 106, f. n. 4.

⁴ द्वीमासी तु भवेत् तृप्तिर्मत्स्यै पितृगणस्य ह ।
श्रीन्मासानाविकेनाद्भुश्चतुर्मासं शशोन ह ।५।
आर्जेन मासान् प्रीयन्ते पञ्चैव पितरो नृप ।
वाराहेण तु षण्मासान् सप्त वै शाकुलेन तु ।६।
मासानष्टौ पार्षतेन रौरवेण नव प्रभो ।
शवस्य तु मासेन तृप्तिः स्याद्दशमासिकी ।७।

आनन्त्याय भवेद्दत्तं खड्गमांसं पितृक्षये ।१०।

Mbh. Anu. 88. 3-10.

⁵ आड्यानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां गौरसोत्तरम् ।
तैलोत्तरं दरिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 49-54.

अपश्यत् तत्र गत्वा तं सूनामध्ये व्यवस्थितम् ।१०।
मार्गमाहिपमांसानि विक्रीणन्तं तपस्विनम् ।
आकुलत्वाच्च ऋतूचामेकान्ते संस्थितौ द्विजः ।

Mbh. Van. 207. 10-11.

⁶ न मांसं राघवो भुङ्क्ते न चैव मधु सेवते ।
वर्ण्यं सुविहितं नित्यं भक्तमश्नातिपञ्चमम् ।

Rama. Sundara 36.41.

कन्दमूलफलैर्जीवन् हित्वा मुनिवदामिषम्

Rama. Ayo. 20.29.

were very fond of meat preparations. They indulged in unrestricted use of them. We read of so many nonvegetarian dishes in the kitchen of Rāvaṇa while Hidimba relished human flesh.¹

Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals.² Meat soup was very popular.³ Sometimes it was prepared with the addition of curds and salt.⁴ Meat cooked with rice was a favourite dish of some people.⁵ Seasoned meat was also taken. Guha offered it to Bharata; but its daily use is not recommended.⁶

The notion of clean and unclean meat was fully developed in this period.⁷ The three upper classes are allowed only clean

¹ मृगाणां महिषाणां च वराहानां च भागशः ।
तत्र न्यस्तानि मांसानि पानभूमौ ददर्श सः ॥१॥
रीक्षभेषु च विशालेषु भाजनेष्वर्धभक्षितान् ।
ददर्श हरिषादूलो मयूरान् कुक्कुटांस्तथा ॥२॥
वराहवाध्रगंसकान् दधिसीवचलायुतान् ।
शल्यान् मृगमयूरांश्च हनुमानन्ववैक्षत ॥३॥

Rama. Sundara. II. 11-18.

भक्षयित्वा च मांसानि मानुषाणां प्रकाशतः ।
नृत्याञ्च सहितावावां दत्ततालावनेकशः ।

Mbh. Adi. 152.15.

² See p. 106, f. n. 3 Rama. Aran. 73.12, Rama. Ay. 52.88.

³ आर्जुनश्चापि वाराहैर्निष्ठान् वर संचयैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

प्रतप्तपिठरैश्चापि मार्गमायूरकौकुटैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.71.

महिषानेकशल्यांश्च छागांश्च कृतनिष्ठितान् ।

Rama. Sundara. II. 14.

स्यात्तेमनं तु निष्ठानम्

Amara. Vaisya. 44.

⁴ Rama. Sund. II. 13. (see p. 108, f. n. 1).

⁵ See p. 106, f. n. 2 and 6.

⁶ आर्द्रं च मांसं शुष्कं वर्ण्यं चोच्चादचं महत् ।

Rama. Ay. 84.17.

वर्जयेच्छुष्कमांसं च तथा पर्युपितं च यत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 61.98.

⁷ बहून् मेध्यान् मृगान् हत्वा चेरतुर्यमुनायने ।

Rama. Ay. 55.33.

इदं मेध्यमिदं स्वादु निष्ठप्तमिदमग्निना ।

Rama. Ay. 91.2.

विधिना वेद दूष्टेन तद् भुक्तवेह न दुष्यति ।

यत्तार्थे पशवः सृष्टा इत्यपि श्रूयते श्रुतिः ।

Mbh. Anu. III. 14.

meat. The flesh of porcupine, hare and tortoise was considered clean.¹ Brāhmanas are advised to avoid the flesh of many unclean animals.² Those who took beef or flesh of dogs were looked down upon in society.³ Even dealing in meat is considered improper.⁴ Some Brāhmanas completely avoided meat diet while others took only dedicated meat.⁵ But to save life use of even unclean meat was permitted.⁶ In some verses of the Mahābhārata it is laid down that animals should be killed only for sacrifices.⁷ But later it is said that animals should not be killed even in sacrifices and only food grains should be offered instead.⁸ Now the ideal was that all those who wish to lead a

¹ पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण राघव ।

शल्यकः स्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पञ्चमः ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.39.

² अन्नद्वान् मृत्तिका चैव तथा क्षुद्रपिपीलिकाः ।

इलेष्मातकस्तथा विप्रैरभक्ष्यं विषमेव च ।

अभक्ष्या ब्राह्मणैर्मत्स्याः शर्कर्येवै विवर्जिताः ।

चतुष्पात् कच्छपादस्यो मण्डूका जलजाश्च ये ।

.....

पश्यादा दंष्ट्रिणः सर्वे चतुष्पात् पक्षिणश्च ये ।

येषां क्षीभवती दन्ताश्चतुर्दंष्ट्राश्च सर्वशः । २४

Mbh. Santi. 36. 21-24.

³ Beef—Mbh. Karna. 44.11 See p. 104, f. n. 1.

श्वमांसं नियता हाराः मुष्टिका नाम निर्घृणाः ।

Rama. Bai. 39.19.

⁴ लाक्षया मधुमासेन लोहेन च विषेण च ।

सदैव विभूयाद् भृत्यान् यस्यार्यो नुमते मतः ।

Rama. Ay. 75.38.

⁵ King Brahmadatta was cursed by a Brāhmaṇa for serving him food mixed with meat dishes.

Rama. Uttara. 39.

अप्रोक्षितं वृथामांसं विधिहीनं न भक्षयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 115.44.

⁶ शुगालादधमं श्वानं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ।

तस्याप्यधम उद्देशः शरीरस्य श्वजाघनी ।

Mb. Santi. 141.57.

समौ च श्वमृगीमन्ये तस्माद् भोक्ष्ये श्वजाघनी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

मूलं रक्ष्यं भक्षयिष्याम्यभक्ष्यम् ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.79.

⁷ Mbh. Anu. 111.14 see p. 108, f. n. 7.

⁸ बीजैर्वज्रेषु यष्टव्यमिति वैदिकी श्रुतिः ।

अज संज्ञानि बीजानि छागानि नो ग्रह्यं ।

Mbh. Santi. 337.5.

virtuous life should avoid meat diet.¹

In the Manusmṛti we find three views about the use of meat. In some of its portions we find a conditional permission for the use of meat. It could be consumed when the animal was killed for Brāhmanas.² Animal food was to be used also in *madhu-parka*, sacrifices, Śrāddhas and worshipping gods.³ In the Śrāddhas specially the use of meat seems to have been common for we are given various periods upto which the fore-fathers remain satisfied with fish and the flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *venu* deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, *vārdbrīṇasa*, rhinoceros and birds.⁴ But, as in the Aśokan edicts, there is a list of animals and birds whose flesh was

¹ रूपमव्यङ्ग्यतामायुर्बुद्धिः सत्वम् बलम् स्मृतिम्
प्राप्तकर्मनरैर्हिता वज्रिता वै महात्मभिः।

Mbh. Santi. 337.8.

² प्रोक्षितं भक्षयेन्मांसं ब्राह्मणानां च काम्यया।
यथाविधि नियुक्तस्तु प्राणानामेव चात्यये।

Manu. V. 27.

³ दशार्थं ब्राह्मणैर्वध्याः प्रशस्ता मृगपक्षिणः।
भूत्यार्चनां चैव बृथार्थमगस्त्यो ह्याचरत् पुरा।२२।
बभूवुर्हि पुरोडासा भक्ष्याणां मृगपक्षिणाम्।
पुराणेष्वपि यज्ञेषु ब्रह्मज्ञानसंवेष्टु च।२३।
प्राणस्थानमिदं सर्वं प्रजापतिरकल्पयत्।
स्थावरं जङ्गमं चैव सर्वं प्राणस्य भोजनम्।२४।
यज्ञाय जग्धिर्मांसस्यैव देवो विधिः स्मृतः।
अतोऽन्यथा प्रवृत्तिस्तु राक्षसो विधिरुच्यते।३१।
मधुपर्कं च यज्ञे च पितृदेवतकर्मणि
अत्रैव पशवो हिंसा नान्यथेत्यब्रवीन्मनुः।४१।
एष्वर्येषु पशून् हिंसा वेदतत्त्वार्थविद् द्विजः।
आत्मानं च पशुं चैव गमयत्युत्तमाम् गतिम्।४२।

Manu. V. 22, 23, 28, 31, 41-42

⁴ व्री मासौ मत्स्य मांसेन त्रीन्मासान् हारिणेन तु।
श्रीरश्रेणास्य चतुरः शकुनेनाथ पञ्च वै।२६६।
पष्मांसांश्छागमांसेन पापंतेन च सप्त वै।
अष्टावेणस्य मांसेन रीरवेण नवैवतु।२६६।
दशमासांस्तु तृप्सन्ति वराहमहिषामिवैः।
शशकूर्मयोस्तु मांसेन मासानेकादशैव तु।२७०।
संवत्सरं तु गव्येन पयसा पायसेन च।
वाध्रीणसस्य मांसेन तृप्तिर्द्विदशवापिकी।२७१।
कालशाकमहाशल्वाः सङ्घा लोहामिथं मधु।
भ्रानन्त्यायैव कल्पन्ते मुन्यन्नानि च सर्वशः।२७२।

Manu. III. 268-272.

to be avoided.¹ Students were generally not allowed meat diet.² Then there are portions of the Manusmṛiti in which meat eating is completely prohibited as it involved killing of animals.³ Meat is called the diet of Rākṣasas.⁴ The third view in the Manusmṛiti strikes a compromise between the two extremes for we are told that meat eating is a natural craving of men but its avoidance brings great merit.⁵ According to Buhler the rules against the use of meat diet are a later interpolation but it would be perhaps more proper to say that these new rules came in imperceptibly with the change in the outlook of the people as a result of the teachings of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and perhaps also Aśoka.

- ¹ क्रव्यादाञ्छकुनान् सर्वास्तथा ग्रामनिवासिनः।
अनिदिष्टाश्चैकशफाण्डिद्रुमं च विवर्जयेत्।११।
कलविष्णुप्लवं हंसं चक्रहृव ग्रामकुक्कुटम्।
सारसं रज्जुवालं च दात्यूहे शुक्रसारिके।१२।
प्रतुवान् जालपादाश्च कोयष्टि नखविष्किरान्।
निमज्जतश्च मत्स्यादाग्नीनं बल्लूरमेव च।१३।
वकं चैव बलाकांश्च काकोलं खज्जरीटकम्।
मत्स्यान् बिड् वराहांश्च मत्स्यामेव च सर्वशः।१४।
यो यस्य मांसमश्नाति स तन्मांसद उच्यते।
मत्स्यादः सर्वमांसावस्तस्मान् मत्स्यान् विवर्जयेत्।१५।
पाठीनरोहितावक्षी नियुक्तो हव्यकव्ययोः
राजीवान् सिंहतुण्डांश्च सशल्कांश्च सर्वशः।१६।
श्वाविधं शल्यकं गोधौ सङ्ग कूर्मं शशांस्तथा।
भक्ष्यान् पञ्चनखेष्वाहुरनुष्टांश्चैकतोदतः।१७।

Manu. V. 11-18.

- ² ब्रह्मचारी तु योऽग्नीयान्मधुमांसं कथञ्चन।

Manu. XI. 158.

- ³ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसा मांसमुत्पद्यते क्वचित्
न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्ग्यस्तस्मान् मांसं विवर्जयेत्।

Manu. V. 48.

- कर्णे बर्होऽश्वमेधेन यो यजेत शतं समाः।
मांसानि च न खादेद्यस्तयोः पुण्यफलं समम्।

Manu. V. 53.

- ⁴ यक्ष रक्षः पिशाचाश्च मयं मांसं सुरासवम्
तद् ब्राह्मणेन नात्तव्यम् देवानामश्नता हविः।

Manu. V. 95.

- ⁵ न मांसं भक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला।

Manu. V. 56.

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be used especially with parched rice.¹ But its daily use is interdicted.² Sugarcane was used in making *guda* which was used in the preparation of many sweets.³ Another product of sugarcane juice in common use was sugar both clarified and raw.⁴ Common sweets were *apāpa*, *pāyasa* (milk-rice), *saṁyāva*, *kṛsara*, *madhulājāḥ* and *modakas* (sweet balls).⁵ Some good quality sweets are called *Khāṇḍava* and *Uccāvacabbakṣya* in the epics.⁶

¹ इक्षुन् मधुस्तया लाजान् मरेयाश्च वरासवान् ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

मांसप्रतिग्रहे चैव मधुनो लवणस्य च ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.5.

See p. 103, f. n. 1.

² दधिसक्तं दोषायां पिबेन्मधु च नित्यशः ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

³ *Ikṣu*—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 91.56. Mbh. Anu. 136.8.

भोजनानि सुपूर्णानि गौडानि च सहस्रशः ।

Rama. Bal. 53. 4.

विविधानि च गौडानि स्नाण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.12.

⁴ *Sarkarā*

बभूवुः पयसश्चान्ये शर्कराणां च संक्षयः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

⁵ *Apāpa*—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Pāyasa—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Samyāva—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Kṛsara—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Madhulājāḥ—*Ibid.*

Modaka—

नरा मोदकहस्ताश्च रात्रस्य पुरतो ययुः ।

Rama. Yuddha. 131.38.

रसालापूपकाश्चिन्नान् मोदकानय स्नाण्डवान् ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

Rama. Bal. 10. 19-20.

Modakas were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour fried in clarified butter mixed with sugar, some aromatic spices and thin slices of the kernel of cocoanut.

⁶ *Khāṇḍava*

नाना स्वादुरत्नानां च स्नाण्डवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

विविधानि च गौडानि स्नाण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

भक्ष्य स्नाण्डवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

Uccāvacabbakṣya—Rama Bal. 53.2, Ay. 61.14, Kisk. 33.7, 37.7, Sundara.

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

It appears that besides ordinary salt, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa* and black salt were in common use, but the use of *viḍa* and black salt is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.¹ It is laid down that a *Brāhmaṇa* should not deal in salt² and people should avoid eating salt in the palms of their hands or at night.³ Other articles used for seasoning food were pepper, cumin, asafoetida, aloes, nutmeg and probably also coriander, mustard and ginger.⁴ They were also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*).⁵ It appears that two condiments, *Sāpa*, and *Niṣṭhāna*, which were prepared with fruit juices, were very much liked in Ayodhyā.⁶

OILSEEDS AND OILS

Sesamum continued to be used as an offering to the fore-

¹ *Sauvarcala*—Rama. Sundara. 11.13.

कृष्णाज्जी विटश्चैव वर्जयेत्तलवणं सर्वम्।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

² सुरालवणमित्येव तिलान् केसरिणः पशून्

एतेषां विप्रमातात ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 78.4-5.

³ न पाणी लवणं विद्वान् प्राप्नीयात्त च रात्रिषु।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

⁴ Pepper (*marica*)

पुष्पाणि च तमालस्य गुल्मानि मरिचस्य च।

Rama. Aranya. 35.22-23.

Cumin (*ajāji*)—Mbh. Anu. 91. 39-41.

Asafoetida (*Hingū*)

हिगु द्रव्येषु शक्रेषु पलाण्डुं लघुनं तथा।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Aloes (*agru*)—अगुरुणां च मुख्यानां जनान्युपवनानि च।

तस्कोलानां च जात्यानि फलानां च सुगन्धिनाम्।

Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

Puināṅga (nāgakesara in Hindi) Rama. Uttara 42.33.

Nutmeg (*Jāti*) Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

⁵ वेसवारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

⁶ फलनिर्घृहसंसिद्धैः सूपैर्गन्धरसान्वितैः।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

भुक्त्वा विशालाक्षी सूपदंशान्वितम् शुभम्।

नन्यं नैवारमाहारं कथं सीतोपभोक्ष्यते।

Rama. Ay. 61.5.

fathers¹ and for extracting oil, which was used for frying food articles by poor people.² Oilcake was used as an article of food by the ascetics.³

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the epics we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers.⁴ The fruits in common use in the forests were jujube, *kāsmārya*, *inguda* (*Terminalia catappa*), *bhallātaka* (marking nut), *plakṣa*, *aśvattha* and *pilu*.⁵ In the cities such as Ayodhya, *bilva*, *kapittha*, bread fruit, citrus fruit, emblic my-

¹ Mbh. Vana. 190.44.

पितृणां परमं भोज्यं तिलाः सृष्टाः स्वयंभुवा ।

तिलदानेन वै तस्मात् पितृपक्षः प्रमोदते ।

Mbh. Anu. 66.7.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3, 68.18, 136.8, Santi. 345.16.

² Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34.

³ कणकुलमाषपिण्याकशाकयावकसप्तवः ।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्ष्यं पर्वायेणोपयोजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

⁴ कन्दमूलफलैर्जीवन् हित्वा मुनिवदामिपम् ।

Rama. Ay. 20.29.

फलमूलाशनं नित्यं वानरं वनगोचरम् ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.25.

फलमूलं च बभुजे राशो दत्तं सहानुजः ।

Mbh. Asrama. 26.38.

⁵ फलानि च विचित्राणि राजभोग्यानि भूरिशः ।

वदरेक्षुदकाश्मर्यमल्लतकफलानि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.19.

वदरेक्षुदकाश्मर्यमल्लतकविभीलीकैः ।

कङ्कालेदच पलाशैदच करीरैः पीलुभिस्तथा ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.61-62.

C.f. Mbh. Vana. 178.8.

Kāsmārya

काश्मर्यरिष्टवर्णमधूकैस्तिलकैस्तथा ।

वदामिलकैर्नपिर्वैत्रघन्वनवीनकैः ।

Rama. Ay. 94. 8-9.

Mbh. Anu. 53.19, Salya. 37. 61-62.

Inguda—Mbh. Salya 37. 61-62.

Vibhitaka—*Ibid.*

Plakṣa—Mbh. Salya. 37. 61-62.

Aśvattha—*Ibid.*

Pilu—*Ibid.*

Srngāṭaka—

अङ्कुराश्चास्तथा वर्ज्या इह शृंगाटकानि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

rohalan, plantain, rose apple, pomegranates and mangoes were used.¹ As stated before some of these fruits were used in preparing condiments.² Stalks and roots of lotus³ were used as vegetables with other vegetables such as long bottle gourd and *kovidāra*.⁴ From the Mahābhārata it appears that garlic, onions and mushrooms were not eaten by respectable persons.⁵ It lays down that a man desirous of glory should not eat the fruits of a fig tree, *pippala*, *vafa* and *udumbara* trees and the leaves

¹ *Bilva*—Rama. Ay. 91.30, 94.8, Mbh. Vana. 117.23, Salya. 37.63, Vana. 117.23.

Kapittha—Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Panasa (bread fruit)—Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Bijapitraka (citrus fruit)—Rama. Aranya 15.

Amalaka (emblic myroblan) Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Nārikela—Rama. Aranya. 35.

Kadalī—Plantain.

कदलीवल् भूयिष्ठं कान्तं मनोहरम् ।

वाटवम्बुफलवर्णादं वन्तो लुखलिकैरपि ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.64.

Rama. Kisk. 13, Mbh. Salya, 36.64, Rama. Aranya 1.2.

Jambū—(rose apple)

आम्रजम्बु वसनैर्लोध्रैः प्रियालैः पनसैः धवैः ।

अङ्गुलैर्मय्यतिनिशं विल्वतिन्दुकवेषुभिः ।

Rama. Ay. 94.8.

जम्बुभिर्वाडिमैश्चैव कोविदारैश्च शोभिताम्

Rama. Ut. 42.5.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

Dāḍima (pomegranate)—Rama. Ut. 42.5.

Priyala—Mbh. Van. 40. 2-5, Ram. Ay. 98.8.

Mango (*Cūta*)

उद्यानाम्रवणोपेताम् ।

Rama. Bal. V. 17.

तस्मिन् विल्वाः कपिलश्वाश्च पनसा बीजपूरकाः आमलक्यो बभ्रूवृक्ष चूताश्च फल भूषणाः

Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Amrātaka कल्पकश्चैवैव विल्वैराभ्रातकैस्तथा ।

अतिमुक्तकपण्डैश्च पारिजातैश्च शोभिताम् । १६३ ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.63.

Bhavya—Rama. Ay. 94. 8.

² See p. 113, f. n. 6.

³ देवस्य तीर्थे जलमग्निकल्पा विगाह्य ते भुवतविसप्रसूताः । ७ ।

केचिद् विसान्यन्ननस्तत्र राजन्नन्ये मृणालान्यन्ननस्तत्रविप्राः । ८ ।

Mbh. Anu. 94. 7-8.

⁴ See p. 116, f. n. 2.

⁵ *Palāṅgu* (onions)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Lasuna (garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38, Karna. 44.17.

Grījāna (red garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

of hemp.¹ The use of long bottle gourd, *Kālasāka*, *Śleṣmātaka*, *sudarśana*, leaves of bamboo or *karira* is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that drinking was common in Ayodhyā. After the departure of Rāma, the city has been compared to a tavern deserted by drunkards.³ The same inference can be deduced from the remark of Bharata on the absence of aroma of *Vārūṇī* after the death of Daśaratha.⁴ *Sītā* herself enjoyed *Maireyaka* variety of wine⁵ and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine.⁶ The non-Aryan tribes of the *Rākṣasas*⁷ and the *Vānaras* were, no doubt, addicted to drinking. The conditions described in the *Mahābhārata* are worse.⁸ Kṛṣṇa is said to have enjoyed drinking freely with Arjuna.⁹ We are told that the *Yādavas* were killed in a

¹ पिप्पलं च बटं चैव शणशाकं तथैव च ।

उदुम्बरं न खादेष्व भवार्थी पुरुषोत्तम ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

² *Kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin gourd) Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

Kālasāka—Mbh. Anu. 88.10.

Śleṣmātaka—Rama. Bal. 14, Mbh. Van. 134. 28.

सौभाग्यजनः कोविदारस्तथा गृञ्जनकादयः ।

कूष्माण्ड जात्यलाबुञ्च कुण्ठं लवणमेव च ।

Mbh. 91.39.

निशपे हव्य कण्ठे वा गर्हितं च सुदर्शनम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41. See p. 114, f. n. 3.

³ क्षीण पानोत्तमैर्भिन्नैः शराभैरभिसंवृताम् ।

हतशौण्डमिवाकाशे पानभूमिसंस्कृताम्

Rama. Ay. 114.14.

⁴ वारुणीमदगन्धश्च माल्यगन्धश्च भूञ्छितः ।

Rama. Ay. 114.20.

⁵ सीतामावाय हस्तेन मधुमैरेयकंक्षुचि ।

Rama. Ut. 42.18.

⁶ सुराघटसहस्रेण मांसभूतीदनेन च
यक्ष्ये त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता ।

Rama. Ay. 52. 89.

यक्ष्ये त्वांगोसहस्रेण सुराघटशतेन च ।

Rama. Ay. 50.20.

⁷ Rama. Sundara. 11. 22-23.

⁸ Rama. Kiskindha. 30.79, 33.39, 33.7.

⁹ उभौ मध्वासवक्षीणावुभौ चन्दनक्षिती ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 59.5.

drinking brawl.¹ The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira has been compared to a sea of liquor.² Virtuous ladies, like Sudeṣṇā drank wine.³ Some of them drank so hard that they could not walk straight.⁴

But even the Kṣatriyas, who were so much addicted to drinking, regarded it as an evil. Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī that if he banished Rāma people would look down upon him as they look down upon a Brāhmaṇa who was addicted to drinking.⁵ Bharata also considers it a sin.⁶ Even dealing in liquor is considered improper for Brāhmaṇas.⁷ Drinking is frequently condemned⁸ and those who were accustomed to drinking liquor prepared from molasses were looked down upon in society.⁹

¹ अथ प्रभृति सर्वेषु वृष्यगन्धकुलेष्विह ।
सुरासर्वो न कर्तव्यः सर्वैः नगरवासिभिः ।

Mbh. Maus. 16.29.

² एवं बभूव यज्ञः स धर्मराजस्य धीमतः ।
बह्व्रन्धनरत्नौघः सुरामैरेयसागरः ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.39.

³ उत्तिष्ठ गच्छ सैरन्ध्र कीचकस्य निवेशनम् ।
पानमानय कल्याणि पिपासा मां प्रबाधते ।

Mbh. Virat. 15.10.

⁴ स्निग्धश्च विपुलश्रोण्यश्चारुपीनपयोधराः ।
मदस्खलितगामिन्यस्चिक्रीडुर्बालोचनाः ।

Mbh. Adi. 222.21.

⁵ विकरिष्यति रथ्यासु सुरार्पं ब्राह्मणं यथा ।

Rama. Ay.

⁶ मद्ये प्रसक्तो भवतु यस्यार्वोन्मुते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 75.41.

⁷ सुरालवणमित्येष तिलान् केसरिणः पशून् ।
एतेषां विक्रयात्तात ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 78. 4-5.

⁸ सुरापानं ब्रह्महत्या गुरुतल्पमथापि वा ।
अभिर्देष्यानि मन्यन्ते प्राणान्तमितिधारणा ।

Mbh. Santi. 165.10.

यो ब्राह्मणोऽथ प्रभृतीह कश्चित् मोहात्सुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः ।
अपेतधर्मा ब्रह्महा चैव स स्यादस्मिंल्लोके गहितः स्यात्परे च ।

Mbh. Adi. 76. 67.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 51.18, Santi. 165.10, 34.20.

⁹ Mbh. Karna. 44.11 See (7) above.

सुरा वैमलमन्त्रानां पाप्मा च मलमुच्यते ।
तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजस्यो वैश्यश्च न सुरां पिबेत् ।
गौडी पैष्टी च माषवी च विजेया त्रिविधा सुरा ।
यथैवैका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः ।

Manu. XI. 94-95.

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions two varieties of *Surā* ordinary and the fermented one.¹ *Kilāla*² was also used in this period, but *Maireya* seems to be the most popular drink. It was the favourite drink of Sītā and was served to guests at a wedding,³ and by sage Bhāradvāja to the party of Bharata. *Vāruṇī* was prepared from the juice of plam fruits and dates and was a common drink in Ayodhyā, as Bharata was surprised to find the city without its aroma after the departure of Rāma to the forest.⁴ It was a very strong drink as it brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk.⁵ *Āsava* was another intoxicating drink in which the main ingredients were *Kapittba* (*Feronia elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phāṇita* and one *prastba* of honey.⁶ Four varieties of *āsava*s are mentioned—one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey and the fourth from sugar.⁷ An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water was

¹ *Surā*—Rama. Ay. 52. 89, 55.20, 91.21., Mbh. Mans. 16.29, Asv. 89.39, 51.18, Adl. 76.67, Santi. 78.4, 165.34, Virat. 15.7.

Kṛta surā (fermented *surā*)—Rama. Sundara 11-12.

दिव्याः प्रसन्ना विविधाः सुराः कृतसुरा अपि

शर्करासवमाञ्जीकाः पुष्पासवफलासवाः।

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23.

Cream of *surā* is called *Madirā*. (Mbh. Sapti. 24.20).

² कीलाजं न खादेयं करिष्ये चासुरजतम्।

Mbh. Van. 257.17.

³ मेरेयमस्त्यर्मांसानि पानकानि मधूनि च।

चित्रान् भक्ष्यविकारांश्च चक्रुस्तस्य यथा पुरा।

Mbh. Asrama, I. 21.

C.f. Rama. Ut. 42.18, Ay. 91.70, Mbh. Asv. 89.39, Virat. 72.28.

इवून् मधूस्तथा लाजान् मेरेयांश्च वरासवान्।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

अन्याः स्रवन्तु मेरेयं सुरामन्याः सुनिष्ठिताम्।

Rama. Ay. 91.15.

मेरेयमासवो धात्री घातकी मुडवारिभिः।

Vaijayanti.

⁴ Rāmā Ay. 114.20 See p. 116, f.n. 4.

⁵ मां मोहयति दुष्टारना पीतमात्रेव क्षाणी।

Rama. Yuddha. 34.8.

⁶ See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 96, f. n. 1.

⁷ *Puṣpāsava*—generally prepared from *Madbūka* flowers—Rama. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Virat. 16.3. calls it *Madbhavi*.

एहितत्र मया सार्द्धं पिब मधु माधवीम्।

Mbh. Virat. 16.3.

See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Phalāsava—It was generally prepared from dates—Rama. Sund. 11.23.

called *Surāśava*.¹ The main ingredients of *Prasannā*² variety are twelve *āḍbakas* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment with some spices and bark and fruit of *Putraka*. *Divyā* was prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* trees.³ *Sīḍhu*, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dhātaki* flowers.⁴ Another strong drink was prepared with *Mādhūka* flowers.⁵

OTHER BEVERAGES

In the *Mahābhārata* water is considered to be the best of beverages.⁶ Drinking water was brought from some natural sources such as water-falls, springs or rivers.⁷ It was also brought from some artificial sources such as wells, reservoirs and tanks.⁸ Water, which had the fragrance of lotus, of rivers and which was clear, cool, health giving, and shining like silver, was considered good for drinking.⁹ It is laid down that

Madhvāśava—It was prepared from honey. *Ram. Sund.* 11.23, *Mbh. Udyoga*, 39.5.

Sarkarāśava—It was prepared from red sugar. *Rama. Sund.* 11.23.

¹ *Surāśava*—*Mbh. Maus.* 16.29 See p. 117, f. n. 1.

² See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23, See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 95, f. n. 7.
Kaut. II. 25.18.

³ *Rama. Sundara.* 11.23.

⁴ सोऽपश्यच्छातकुम्भानि सीधोर्मणिमयानि च ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.26.

चन्दनस्य च शीतस्य सीधोर्मधुरसस्य च ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.32.

Gandvāśava (prepared from *guḍa*) is mentioned in the *Mbh. Karna.* 44.11.

⁵ See p. 118, f. n. 7.

⁶ द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां पेयानामाप उत्तमाः ।

Mbh. Asv. 44.10.

⁷ जलप्रपातैर्हृदभेदैर्निष्यन्दैश्च ववचित् ववचित् ।

Rama. Ay. 94.13.

⁸ निर्जलेषु च देशेषु खानयामासुस्तमान्
उदपानान् बहु विधान् वेदिकापरिमण्डितान् ।

Rama. Ay. 80.12.

पानीयं परमं दानं दानातां मनुरब्रवीत् ।
तस्मात् कूपाश्चवापीश्च तटाकानि च खानयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 100.3.

⁹ पद्मगन्धि शिवं वारि सुखं शीतमनामयम् ।

उद्धृत्य स तदाक्लिष्टं रूप्यस्कटिकसन्निभम् ।

अथ पुष्करपर्णेन लक्ष्मणः पाययिष्यति ।

Rama. Aranya. 73.17-18.

one desirous of lustre should not drink water at night.¹ Besides water many other beverages were prepared at the time of feasts. Some of them were prepared from foodgrains or flour.² Some times fruit juices were used as syrups.³ A preparation of juices from fruits such as pomegranates and raisins was called *rāga*, if it was liquid in form, and *śāḍava*, if the juices were reduced to a thick consistency.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

From the epics we learn that food was cooked in kitchens, by efficient cooks expert in cooking different dishes and was served by waiters, who were well dressed.⁵ The preparation of *Saṣkuli*, *rasālā*, *rāga* and *śāḍava* shows a high stage of develop-

¹ पानीयस्य क्रिया नक्तं न कार्या भूतिमिच्छता ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.128.

² पानानि च महार्हाणि भक्ष्याश्चोच्चावचानपि ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

वेसवारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

प्रतिपानहृदान् पूर्णान् खरोष्ट्रगजवाजिनान् ।

Rama. Ay. 91.78.

नानाविधान्नरसान् वन्यमूलफलाश्वयान् ।

Rama. Ay. 54.18.

ग्रीहो पुष्पे फले चैव जले पिष्टमये तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

³ नानास्वादुरसानां च खाण्डवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

फल निर्व्यूह संसिद्धैः सूपैर्गन्धरसान्वितैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

⁴ तयाम्ल लवणोत्तंसं विविधै रागघाडकैः ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

भक्ष्यखाण्डवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

सिता मध्वादि मधुरो द्राक्षादादिमजो रसः ।

विरलश्चेत्कृतो रागस्तान्द्रश्चेत् घाडकः ।

Govindaraja quotes 'Pradīpa' on Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

⁵ महानसेषु सिद्धेषु संस्कृतेज्जीव भारत । आहार्यमाणे वृष्ण्यो व्यदृश्यन्त सहस्रशः ।

Mbh. Mans. 2.

आराजिकाः सूपकारा रागखाण्डविकास्तथा ।

उपतिष्ठन्त राजानं धृतराष्ट्रं पुरा यथा ।

Mbh. Ast. 19.1.

स्वसंकृताश्च पुरुषा ब्राह्मणान् पर्यवेषयन्

उपासन्ते च तानन्ये सुमृष्टमधिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.18.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.95, Ut. 92.6.

ment in the art of cooking.¹ **Lakṣmaṇa** used to cook food for Rāma and Sitā in the forest.² **Royal** princes like **Bhīma** and **Nala** had attained great skill in the art of cooking. Nala could prepare fine dishes in no time.³ Meat was also dressed in various ways.⁴

The rich generally used utensils of gold, silver, or precious stones while the middle class used utensils of other metals and the poor used utensils of clay or leaves.⁵ The common utensils were water jars, dishes, pans, pitchers, drinking cups, cooking pots and boilers.⁶ Manu prescribes that utensils of stone should

¹ *Śaṣkult*—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Rasālā—See p. 105, f. n. 3.

Rāga—See p. 120, f. n. 4.

Śāḍava—*Ibid*.

² Rama. Araṇya. 73. 12-14.

³ Mbh. Virata. 10. 17.

अक्षिप्तमेव यस्तस्य पानीयं चरुद्वयम् ।
काष्ठान्यपिताग्नीनि स्वयं प्रज्वलितानि च ।
अणाञ्च भोजनैस्तेर्निष्पन्नं दिव्यमेव च ।
एतद् दृष्ट्वा महाश्चर्यं ततश्चाहमिहागता ।

Mbh. Vana. 75. 395. 396.

⁴ See p. 108, f. n. 2-6.

⁵ न्यर्दूदानि च पात्राणि शातकुम्भमयानि च ।

स्यात्यः कुम्भः करम्भश्च दधिपूर्णः सुसंस्कृतः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.72.

घटान् पात्री कटाहानि कलशान् वर्धमानकान् ।

नहि किञ्चित् असौवर्णमपस्वर्गमुधाधिपाः ।

Mbh. 85.30.

⁶ *Bhṛṅgāra* (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Ghaṭa (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

Kumbha (a pitcher)—Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Laubī (iron pans)—Rama. Ay. 91.69.

Pātrī (a dish)—Rama. Ay. 91.71., Mbh. 85.30.

Kaṭahā (a frying pan)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Piṭhara (a boiler)—Rama. Ay. 91.71.

Varāhamānaka—a kind of dish.

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Karambhā (a vessel for storing liquids)

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Karaka (a water pot).

be cleaned with ashes, of gold and silver only with water, of other metals with alkaline substances. Wooden implements were cleaned with warm water and earthenware with another burning¹.

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Great importance was attached to the fulfilment of the duty of hospitality in the epics.² A Brāhmaṇa, who maintained himself on the gleanings of corn, starves himself to death to feed a guest.³ In the Rāmāyaṇa even the hermits extend hospitality to Rāma and Bharata wherever they went.⁴ Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a Brāhmaṇa stays unhonoured in one's house he takes away all his merit, however, self sacrificing he may have been.⁵ According to him one who cooks for himself

ततः पात्रीः सकरका ब्रह्मणा मनोरमाः। भूगाराणि कटाहानि कलशान् वर्षमानकान्।
बहूनि च विचित्राणि भाजनानि सहस्रशः।

Mbh. Asv. 65. 14-15.

Stbālī (a cooking pot)

स्थात्याः कण्ठेऽथ संलग्नं शाकान्नं वीक्ष्य केशवः।

Mbh. Van. 263.24.

¹ तैजसानां मनीनां च सर्वस्याश्रमस्य च।
भस्मनाऽग्निर्मृदा चैव शुद्धिरुक्ता मनीषिभिः।१११।
निर्लेपं काञ्चनं भाण्डमद्भिरेव विशुध्यति।
अव्ययमश्ममयं चैव राजतं चानुपस्कृतम्।११२।
अयामग्नेश्च संयोगाद्धैमं रोप्यं च निर्वमी।
तस्मात्तयोः स्वयोन्येव निणको गुणवत्तरः।११३।
ताम्रायःकांस्यरैत्यानां प्रपुषः सीसकस्य च।
शीचं यथार्हं कर्तव्यं क्षाराम्लोदक वारिभिः।११४।
ब्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां शुद्धिरुत्पन्नं स्मृतम्।
प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम्।११५।

Manu. V. 111-115.

² अग्रोणोद्योतिषिः सायं सूर्योदो गृहमेधिना।
काले प्राप्तस्त्वकाले वा नात्थानश्नन् गृहे वसेत्।

Manu. III. 105.

तौयपूर्वं प्रदायात्रमतिथिभ्यो विशांपते
पश्चाद् भुञ्जीत मेधावी नाप्यन्यमना नरः।

Mbh. Anu. 161.102.

³ Mbh. Asv. 90.

⁴ Rama. Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ शिलामप्युच्छतो नित्यं पञ्चाग्नीनपि जुह्वतः।१००।

सर्वं मुकुलमादत्ते ब्राह्मणोऽजिषितो वसन्।

न वै स्वयं तदश्नीयादतिथिं सन्न भोजयेत्।१०६।

अन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं स्वयं चातिथि भोजनम्।

Manu. III. 100, 106.

is a sinner.¹

Besides feeding guests a householder was expected to make some offerings to gods and Brāhmaṇas before he took his meals. Rāma and Sitā both observed this rule in the forest.² He was enjoined to feed children, oldmen, servants, newly married girls, maidens, sick persons and pregnant women before he took his meals.³ He should also set apart some food for dogs, outcasts, Cāṇḍālas, persons afflicted with infectious diseases, birds and insects.⁴ Ancient Indians always washed their hands, feet and mouth before they took their meals. They also sipped water before and after taking their meals.⁵ It was considered impro-

¹ अथं स केवलं भुङ्क्ते यः पचत्यात्मकारणात्
यज्ञशिष्टाशनं ह्येतत् सतामन्नं विधीयते।

Manu. III. 118.

² पतींश्च द्रौपदीं सतींश्च द्विजतींश्च यशस्विनीं
मातृवद् भोजयित्वाग्नें शिष्टमाहारयत्तदा।

Mbh. Van. 38.8.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.23.

देवान् ऋषीन् मनुष्यांश्च पितॄन् गृह्याश्च देवताः।

पूजयित्वा ततः पश्चाद् गृहस्थः शेषभुग्भवेत्।

Manu. III. 117.

³ सुवासिनीः कुमारीश्च रोगिणीगर्भिणीस्त्रियः।
अतिथिभ्योऽप्यैवैतान् भोजयेदधिचारयन्।

Manu. III. 144.

बालानामथ वृद्धानां दासानां चैव ये नराः।

अदत्त्वा भक्षयन्त्यग्रे ते वै निरयगामिनः।

Mbh. Anu. 23.82.

Manu. III. 105, 117, 119, 152.

⁴ शूनां च पतितानां च श्वपचां पापरोगिणाम्।
वायसानां कृमीणां च शनकं निर्वेदेद् भुवि।

Manu. III. 92.

⁵ पञ्चाद्रौ भोजनं भुञ्ज्यात् प्राङ्मुखो मौनमास्थितः।

न निन्दादत्तं भक्ष्यांश्च स्वादु स्वादु च भक्षयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 193.6.

आर्द्रपादस्तु भुञ्जानो वर्षाणां जीवते क्षतम्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.67.

अन्नं बुभुक्षमाणस्तु त्रिमुखेन स्पृशेदपः।

भुक्त्वा क्षात्रं तथैव त्रिभिः पुनः परिमार्जयेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.59.

आर्द्रपादस्तु दीर्घमायु रवा प्लुयात्।

Manu. IV. 76.

उपस्पृश्य द्विजोनित्यमन्नमद्यात्समाहितः।

भुक्त्वा शेषस्पृशेत्सम्बगद्भिः क्षान्तिं च संस्पृशेत्।

Manu. II. 53.

C.f. Manu. V. 138, II.60.

per to consume the leavings of any person especially liquid foods such as water, milk, rice, groats, curds, clarified butter and honey.¹

It is laid down that a man should not eat the leavings of women and Sūdras, as also what is eaten by a cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, an ichneumon or food into which a hair or an insect has fallen.² The Mahābhārata gives a long list of those persons whose food should be avoided. The list includes a back-biter, a dealer in *soma*, an acrobat, one who is ungrateful, a potter, a fisherman, an actor, a goldsmith, a musician, a dealer in arms, a hunter, a dealer in liquors, a washerman, a cruel person, a barber, a physician, a woman who has a second husband, a prostitute and a harlot.³ Manu also lays down that a student, who has completed his Vedic studies, should never eat food given by in-

¹ पानीयं पावसं सकृन् दधिसर्पिर्मधून्यपि
निरस्य शेषमन्येषां न प्रवेद्यं तु कस्याचित्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.104.

नोच्छिष्टं कस्यचिद् दद्यान्नाद्याच्चैव यथान्तरा।
न चैवात्यशनं कुर्यान्नोच्छिष्टतः क्वचिद् व्रजेत्।

Manu. II.56.

² Manu. XI. 152, XI. 160.

शूद्राणां यस्तथाभुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम्।५
चिकित्सकः काण्डपृष्ठः सुराध्यक्षः पुरोहितः।
सांवत्सरो वृथाध्यायी सर्वे ते शूद्रसंमिताः।११

Mbh. Anu. 198. 5, 11.

अभोज्यानां तु भुक्त्वान्नं स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टमेव च।
जग्वा मांसमभक्ष्यं च सप्तरात्रं यवान् पिवेत्।

Manu. XI. 152.

³ C.f. Manu. IV. 207-203, XI. 95-96, II.209.

श्रेतान्नं सूतिकाश्रं च यच्च किञ्चिदनिर्देशम्।
अभोज्यं चाप्यपेयं च धेनोर्दुग्धमनिर्देशम्।२६
राजान्नं तेज आदत्ते शूद्रान्नं ब्रह्मवर्चसम्।
आयुः सुवर्णकारान्नमवीरायाश्च योधितः।२७
विष्टा वार्धुषिकस्यान्नं गणिकान्नमयेन्द्रियम्।
मृष्यन्ति ये चोपपत्ति स्त्रीजितान्नं च सर्वशः।२८
दीक्षितस्य कदर्यस्य ऋतुविक्रयिकस्य च।
तक्षश्चमविकर्तुश्च पुंश्चत्या रजकस्य च।२९
चिकित्सकस्य यश्चान्नमभोज्यं रक्षिणस्तथा।
गणप्रामाभिः शस्तानां रज्जुस्त्रीजीविनां यथा।३०
परिवितीनां पुंसां च बन्दिनूतविदां तथा।३१

Mbh. Santi. 36.26-31.

रजस्वलाभिर्दृष्टं च तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः।४
अवधुष्टं च यद् भुक्तमन्नमेव च भारत।
परामुष्टं शुना चैव तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः।५।
केशकीटावपतितं क्षुतं स्वभिरवेक्षितम्।

toxicated, angry, or sick men nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot. He should also avoid food which is given without due respect or that which contains unsanctified meat, or the food of an enemy, or that given by the lord of a town or that on which anybody has sneezed. But roots and fruits could be accepted from persons of any caste.¹ Food kept overnight or which has turned sour was to be avoided but any preparations of clarified butter and the remnants of sacrificial offering could be taken even if they were kept overnight.²

Food was always eaten with respect and in a happy mood. It was believed that food taken in a happy mood made a man strong. It was laid down that a man should on no account drop a tear, become angry, or utter an untruth, nor should he revile food served to him.³

People generally took breakfast in the morning, lunch in the afternoon and dinner at sunset.⁴ It was considered improper to take any food between the two principal meals.⁵ Manu

रक्षितं चावधूतं च तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ६ ।
निरोद्धोरेण यद् भुक्तं सशस्त्रेण च भारत ।
दुरात्मना च यद् भुक्तं तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ७ ।
परोच्छिष्टं च यद् भुक्तं च यद् भवेत् ।
देवे पित्र्ये च सततं तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ८ ।

Mbh. Anu. 23.4-8.

¹ Manu. V. 9, 10, 24, 25.

² यत्किञ्चित् स्नेहसंयुक्तं भक्ष्यं भोज्यमगृहीतम् ।
तत्पथमुपितमप्याद्यं हविःशेषं च यद् भवेत्

Manu. V. 24.

³ पूजयेदशनं नित्यमद्याच्चैतदकुत्सयन् ।
हृष्ट्वा हृष्येत् प्रसीदेच्च प्रतिनन्देच्च सर्वशः । १४ ।
पूजितं ह्यशनं नित्यं बलमूर्जं च यच्छति ।
अपूजितं तु यद् भुक्तमुभयं नाशयेदयम् । १५ ।

Manu. II. 34-35.

⁴ Rāmāyaṇa. Aranya. 56.25, Sund. 22.9, Sundara. 11.

⁵ सायं प्रातर्हिजातीनामशनं श्रुतिं चोदितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं कुर्यादिहोत्रसमो विधिः ।

Manu. II. 6.

सायं प्रातर्मनुष्याणामशनं देवनिर्मितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं दृष्टमुपवासी तथा भवेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

अन्तरा प्रातराशं च सायमाशं तथैव च ।
सदोपवासी स भवेद्यो न भुङ्क्तेऽन्तरा पुनः ।

Mbh. Santi. 221.10.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 161.100.

lays down that one should not take food when walking nor should he take very early in the morning nor very late in the evening.¹ One should avoid over eating because it destroys health and bars heaven.²

A student was advised to subsist on alms and to abstain from honey, meat, flavours and all fermented acids.³ The ascetics generally lived on broken pieces of rice, *Kulmāṣa*, oil cake, leaves, barley gruel, groats, roots and fruits or gleanings of corn. The fruit which the foresters used were those which fell from the tree without being plucked.⁴ They were expected to be moderate in food and to eat only as much as is necessary to maintain life.⁵

The general rules of etiquette were that a person should have at least two garments when taking his meals.⁶ and should

मम त्वा प्रातराशार्धमालभन्ते महानसे ।

Rama. Sundara. 22.9.

¹ नाश्नीयात् संधिवेलायां न गच्छन्नपि संविशेत् ।

Manu. IV. 55.

न भुञ्जीतोद्धृतस्नेहं नातिसौहित्यमाचरेत् ।
नातिं प्रगे नातिं सायं न सायं प्रातराशितः ।

Manu. IV. 62.

² अन्नारोग्यमनायुष्यमस्वर्ग्यं चातिभोजनम् ।
अपुण्यलोकविद्विष्टं तस्मात्तत् परिवर्जयेत् ।

Manu. II. 57.

³ वर्जयेन्मधु मांसं च गन्धं मास्यं रसान् स्त्रियः ।
शुक्तानि यानि सर्वाणि प्राणिनां चैव हिंसनम् ।

Manu. II. 177.

⁴ कणकुलमापि पित्त्याकशाकयावकसक्तवः ।
तथा मूलफलं भैक्ष्यं पर्यायेणोपयोजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.21.

शिलोञ्छ वृत्तिर्धर्मात्मा मुद्गलः संयतेन्म्रियः ।

Mbh. Vana. 260.3.

पुष्पमूलफलैर्वापि केवलैर्वर्जयेत् सदा ।
कालपक्वैः स्वयंशीर्षैर्वैजानसः ।

Manu. VI. 21.

⁵ Rama. Ay. 20.29, Ay. 28.12, Manu. III.257.

नियताहाराः ।

Rama. VII. 9.39.

यात्रामार्गं च भुञ्जीत केवलं प्राणधारणम् ।

Mbh. Asvamedha.

⁶ वाग्यतो नैकवस्त्रवचनासविष्टः कदाचन
भूमी सर्वैव नाश्नीयात्तृणीचं न च शब्दवत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.101.

नैक वस्त्रेण भोक्तव्यम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.71.

नास्त्रमद्यादेकवासा न गन्तः स्नानमाचरेत् ।

Manu. IV. 45.

not have his head dress and shoes on.¹ He should face the east for it was believed that the practice tends to long life.² He should eat in privacy and silently without making any sound while eating. He should take his meals in a sitting posture and not while walking.³ He should not take food, placing it in his lap, nor should he be too eager to eat.⁴ In a party the etiquette demanded that the same dishes should be served to all.⁵ It was considered improper to eat sweet dishes without sharing them with others.⁶ Women generally took their meals after their husbands had done so.⁷ Eating from the same dish with others was considered bad.⁸

¹ यद्वेष्टितशिरो भुङ्क्ते यद् भुङ्क्ते दक्षिणामुखः।
सोपानत्कश्च यद् भुङ्क्ते तद्वै रक्षांसि भुञ्जते।

Manu. III. 238.

² Mbh. Anu. 104.57, Manu. II. 52-53.
प्राङ्मुखो नित्यमदनीयात् वाग्यतोन्नमकुत्सयन्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.6.

³ निपण्णश्चापि खादेत न तु गच्छन् कदाचन।

Mbh. Anu. 161.65.

मैथुनं सततं गुप्तमाहारं च समाचरेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 163.47.

⁴ नोत्सर्गेभक्षयेद् भक्ष्यान्न जातुस्यात् कुतुहली।

Manu. IV. 63.

⁵ अतिथीनां च सर्वेषां प्रेष्याणां स्वजनस्य च
सामान्यं भोजनं भृत्यैः पुरुषस्य प्रशस्यते।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

समानमेकपङ्क्त्यां तु भोज्यमन्नं नरेश्वर।
विषं हालाहलं भुङ्क्ते योऽप्रदाय सुहृज्जनैः।

Mbh. Anu. 161. 103.

नायलीढमवज्ञातमाघ्रातं भक्षयेदपि।

तथानोद्धृतसाराणि प्रेषतामप्रदाय च।

Mbh. Anu. 161.95.

⁶ कञ्चित् स्वादुक्लृप्तं भोज्यं एको नाश्नाति राक्षस।

Rama. Ay. 100.75.

पुत्रैर्दारिद्र्यं भृत्यैश्च स्वगृहे परिवारितः
स एको मृष्टमश्नातु यस्यायोन्युन्मतेगतः।

Rama. Ay. 75.34.

Manu. III. 229.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.28.

पतींश्च द्रौपदीं सर्वांश्च द्विजतींश्च यशस्विनीं
मातृवद् भोजयित्वाश्चे सिष्टमाहारयत्तदा।

Mbh. Vana. 58.8.

नाशनीयाद् भार्यया सार्वम् नैनामीक्षेत चाश्नलीम्।

Manu. IV. 43.

समानमेकपात्रे तु भुञ्जेन्नाश्रं जनेश्वर।

Mbh. Anu. 161.94.

We come across almost the same taboos as in the Sūtras. Onions, garlic, and all plants growing on an impure piece of land such as mushrooms, *Bhūstrya*, *Sigru* and *Sleşmātaka* were avoided.¹ It is laid down in the Mahābhārata that one desirous of prosperity should avoid the fruits of *Pippala*, *Vaṭa* and *Udumbara* and the leaves of hemp.² Preparations of sesamum were avoided after sunset.³

Feasts were generally given at the time of sacrifices. At such sacrifices Brāhmaṇas who sold meat were not invited.⁴ Generally three noble Brāhmaṇas were issued an invitation to a feast for the manes,⁵ one day before or on the actual day of the feast. All kinds of dainty dishes were served by waiters who were well dressed with ornaments.⁶ In the forest Rāma per-

¹ वर्जयेन्मधु मांसं च भीमानि कवकानि च ।
भूस्तूर्णं शिष्टकं चैव श्लेष्मातकफलानि च ।

Manu. VI. 14.

लघुनं गृञ्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं कवकानि च
अभक्ष्याणि द्विजातीनामभ्यप्रभवाणि च ।

Manu. V. 5.

क्षत्राकं विद्ध वराहं च लघुनं ग्रामकुक्कुटम्
पलाण्डुं गृञ्जनं चैव मत्स्या जम्बवा पतेद् द्विजः ।

Manu. V. 19.

स्थलजीवकशकानिपुष्पमूलफलानि च ।
मेघ्य वृक्षोद्भवान्यद्यात् सस्नेहंश्च फलसंभवान् ।

Manu. VI. 13.

² पिप्पलं च वटं चैव शणशाकं तथैव च ।
उदुम्बरं न खादेच्च भवाभीं पुरुषो नृप ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

³ सर्वञ्च तिलसम्बद्धं नाद्यादस्तमिते रवौ ।

Manu. IV. 75.

⁴ चिकित्सकान् देवलकान्मांसविक्रयिणस्तथा
विपण्ये च जीवन्तो वज्र्याः स्पृह्यन्त्यव्ययोः ।

Manu. III. 152.

⁵ पूर्वैर्दुरपरेर्द्युर्वा श्राद्धकर्मण्युपस्थिते ।
निमन्त्रयेत् श्वयवान् सम्भगं विप्रान् पयोदितान् ।

Manu. III. 187.

⁶ स्वलङ्कृताश्च पुरुषा ब्राह्मणान् पर्यवेपथुन्
उपासन्ते च तान्ये सुमृष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.8.

यस्य चाहारसमये सूदाः कुण्डलधारिणः ।

Rama. Ayo. 12.95.

परिवेषणं च विप्राणां प्रयताः संप्रचक्रिरे ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.6.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.85, Aranya. 56.24, Sundara. 22.9.

formed these rites by offering fruits such as *inguda*, jujube and *bilva*, but generally the food served to the Brāhmaṇas consisted of such stuffs as were eaten by hermits in the forest; milk, soma juice and meat which is not prepared with spices.¹ It was generally served hot and prepared with clarified butter.² The Śaiva festival Samāja is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. On such occasions feasts accompanied by drinking were common.³ Some idea of the feasts in these days can be had from the description of the feasts which *Vasiṣṭha* and *Bhāradvāja* gave in honour of the visit of *Viśvāmītra* and *Bharata* respectively.⁴

The food of the rich generally consisted of meat preparations, of the middle class people of dairy products, and of the poor of food preparations cooked in oil.⁵ People used to take with them some food when proceeding on a journey.⁶ From the *Sārasvata Upākhyāna* in the *Salyaparva* of the Mahābhārata we know that the *Sārasvata* Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking meat diet.⁷ The custom of betel chewing after meals is mentioned nowhere in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata probably

महानसेषु सिद्धेषु संस्कृतेऽतीव भारत ।
आहार्यमाणे वृण्वो व्यवृश्यन्त सहस्रशः ।

Mbh. Mausala. 2.

गुणांश्च सूपशाकाद्यान् पयोदधि घृतं मधु
विन्यसेत् प्रयतः पूर्वं भूमावेव समाहितः ।

Manu. III. 226.

भक्ष्यं भोज्यं च विविधं मूलानि च फलानि च
हृद्यानि चैव मांसानि पानानि सुरभीणि च ।

Manu. III. 227.

C.f. Rama. Bal. 53.1, 54.22, VII. 92.6, VII. 92.11.

¹ इक्ष्वाकैर्बदरैः विल्वै रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन् ।
यदन्नं पुरुषो भुङ्क्ते तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ।

Rama. Ay. 103.30.

² Manu. III. 257, 256.

अत्युष्णं सर्वमन्नं स्याद् भुञ्जीरस्ते वाग्यताः ।
न च द्विजातयो भूयुर्दात्रा पृष्टा हविर्गुणान् ।

Manu. III. 256.

³ Hopkins.-Epic Mythology, pp. 65, 220.

⁴ Rama. Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ आह्वानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां शीतलोत्तरम्
तैलोत्तरं दक्षिणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 54.49.

⁶ दत्तपथ्यशाना दृता जम्बुः स्वं स्वं निकेतनम् ।
केकयास्ते गमिष्यन्तो ह्वानासह्य संमतान् ।

Ram. Ay. 68.10.

⁷ Mbh. Salya. 51.

because it had not yet become a part of the Aryan etiquette.

The inhabitants of the Vāhlika region did not observe all the rules about the purity of food. Their food habits have been condemned in the Karna Parva of the Mahābhārata. Their meal consisted of groats, fish, beef and liquor prepared from treacle. Other food articles which they used were parched barley, garlic, onions, cakes, meat of pigs, cocks, asses, camels and rams, and churned curds. They also took the milk of sheep, camels and asses and could take their meals with persons of all castes. They used wooden vessels and earthenware for taking food. Their women were addicted to drinking.¹

We have already referred to the non-Aryan people the Vāharas who subsisted on the roots, fruits and tubers of the forest and the Rākṣasas whose meal mostly consisted of meat preparations and strong liquors. In the Rāmāyaṇa the description of Rāvaṇa's kitchen and in the Mahābhārata the account of Hiḍimba shows that these people were not affected by the civilizing influence of the Aryans.²

To sum up in the epics and the Manusmṛiti we have a society divided into three broad strata; the rich, the middle classes and the poor. The rich enjoyed many meat preparations and dainties. The food of the middle classes generally consisted of milk and

¹ येषां गृहेष्वशिष्टानां सक्तुमत्स्याशिनां तथा।
पीत्वा सीधुं सगोमांसं क्रवन्ति च हसन्ति च।
वासोऽस्त्युत्तुज्यन्त्यन्ति स्त्रियो या मथमोहिताः।

Mbh. Karna. 40. 27-28.

धानागीदयासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लशुनैः सह।
अपूपमांसवाद्यानामाशिनः शीलवजिताः।११।
अपूपान् सक्तुं पिण्डाश्च प्राचनन्तो मथितान्वितान्।१२।
पलाशुगण्डूषयुतान् खादन्ती चंडकान् बहून्।
बाराहं कौकुटं मांसं गव्यं गार्दभमीष्टिकम्।२५।
काष्ठकुण्डेषु बाह्लीका मृन्मयेषु च भुञ्जते।३५।
सक्तुमद्यावलिप्लेषु स्वावलीडेषु निघृणाः।
आविकं चोष्टिकं चैव क्षीरं गार्दभमेव च।३६।
तद्विकारां बाह्लीकाः खादन्ति च पिबन्ति च।
पुत्रसंकरिणो जालमाः सर्वाश्चक्षीरभोजनाः।३७।

Mbh. Karna. 44. 11-37.

Churned curds (*Mathita*) and meat preparations are popular in the Punjab even to this day.

² See p. 108, f. n. 1.

articles cooked in clarified butter while the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. The jungle tribes such as the *Vānaras* and the *Rākṣasas* lived mainly on roots and fruit and meat preparations respectively. With the passage of time a feeling of revulsion against meat diet was growing in the Aryan society and it was considered meritorious to live on vegetarian dishes alone. But in the Punjab some people relished even beef. Drinking was common in the Punjab and in the Southern India where Aryan influence had not yet fully penetrated. The list of those persons whose food should be avoided has been considerably increased probably to maintain the purity of race. The art of cooking was further developed on account of the keen interest taken by royal princes and grand feasts were commoner on such occasions as marriages and sacrifices.

CHAPTER V FOOD AND DRINKS

(75 A.D. To 300 A.D.)

For the period 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. our principal sources of information are the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta. We may supplement their information by that provided by the two other medical works composed during our period, the Saṁhitās of Bhela and Kāśyapa. For the views of the society about inter dining and other rules of diet we have utilised the Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which were according to Dr. Kane, composed not later than 300 A.D.

According to the authors of the medical works it is food alone which sustains life. If proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clear. If proper diet is not taken the result is unhappiness.¹ Human body is made of five elements and food articles are also composed of five elements. If, the food articles are properly digested, they nourish the respective elements in the body² and the three primary humours

¹ न आहारादृते प्राणिनां प्राणाधिष्ठानं किञ्चिदप्युपलभामहे स सम्यगुपयुज्यमानो जीवयति, सर्वेन्द्रियाणि ह्लादयति, धातूनाप्यायति, स्मृतिमतिःसर्वबलीजांस्यूर्जयति, वर्णप्रसादं चोपजनयति, असम्यगुपयुज्यमानस्त्वसुखेनोपयोजयति ।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3.

हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति अहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्ध्याधीनां निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka. Su. 25. 31.

बलमारोग्यमायुश्च प्राणाश्चान्नी प्रतिष्ठिताः ।

अन्नपानेन्यनैश्चानिर्दीप्यते शाम्भतेऽप्यथा ।

Caraka. Su. 27. 340.

² पञ्चभूतात्मके देहेह्माहारः पाञ्चभौतिकः ।

विपक्वः पञ्चधासम्यग् गुणान्स्वानभिवर्धयेत् ।

अविदग्धः कफं पित्तं विदग्धः पवनं पुनः

सम्यग्विपक्वोनिःसार आहारः परिवर्हयेत् ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 526-527.

wind, gall and mucus are not disturbed. If it is not properly digested it deranges one or more of these humours and diseases are caused.¹ They have, therefore, paid special attention to the topic of food and drinks and devoted special chapters to discuss the subject.

Food articles have been divided into four categories, beverages, food which does not require chewing, that which requires chewing and that which is taken by licking.² All the food articles consist of six flavours sweet, acid, salt, pungent, astringent and bitter. All these flavours increase one or more of the three primary humours of the human body. A proper balance of these flavours keeps man free from all diseases and enables him to lead a happy and healthy life.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Food grains have been divided into two kinds, those with awns and those having legumes.⁴ Of the first kind the most important was rice with its three main varieties—*Vrihi* ripening in autumn, *Sāli* ripening in winter and *Śaṣṭika* ripening in sixty

¹ वायुः पित्तं कफश्चोक्तः शारीरो दोषसंग्रहः।

मानसः पुनरुद्दिष्टो रजश्च तमएव च।

Caraka. Su. I. 36.

शारीरास्त्वन्नपानमूला वातपित्तकफशीणितसन्निपातवैषम्यनिमित्ताः।

Susruta. Su. I. 25.

² चतुर्विधोपयोगः पानाशनभक्ष्यलेह्योपयोगात्।

Caraka. Su. 25.36.

³ यद् भक्षयति भृङ्गते वा विधिवच्चापि मानवः।

पेयं च किञ्चित् पिबति तत्सर्वं वृद्धसान्वितम्।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 47.

प्राणिनां पुनर्मूलमाहारो बलवर्णोजसां च। स षट्सु रसेष्वायतः रसाः पुनर्द्रव्याश्रयाः,
द्रव्याणि पुनरोपधयः।

Susruta. Su. I. 28.

एवमेते षड्रसाः पृथक्त्वेनैकत्वेन वा मात्रशः सम्यगुपयुज्यमाना उपकारकरा भवन्त्य-
ध्यात्मलोकस्य अपकारकराः पुनरधोऽप्यधोऽप्युज्यमानाः, तान् विद्वानुपकारार्थमेव मात्रशः
सम्यगुपयोजयेदिति।

Caraka. Su. 26.66.

स्वाद्भस्मलवणा वायुं कषायस्वादुतिक्तकाः।

ज्वन्ति पित्तं श्लेष्माश्च कषायकटुतिक्तकाः।

Caraka. Su. I. 65.

⁴ *Sāka dbānya* (those with awns)

Sāmi dbānya (leguminous plants)

Caraka. Su. 27.6.

days in summer.¹ The *Vrihi* variety was considered inferior to the other two varieties.² The most popular varieties of *Śāli* rice were—*raktasāli*, *mabāsāli*, and *kalama*³ and of *Vrihi* rice the black variety called *Kṛṣṇavrihi*.⁴ *Ṣaṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing and its daily use is recommended.⁵ Some inferior cereals such as *Koradūṣaka*, *Syāmāka*, *Nivāra*, *Varaka* and *Priyamgu* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁶ Two varieties of

¹ शालि ह्येवंतं धान्यम् षष्टिकादयश्च ग्रीष्मकाः ग्रीह्यः शारदाः ।

Carakapāṇi on Caraka, Su. 27.

² षष्टिकाञ्छालिमुद्गांश्च सन्धवानलके यवान् ।

धान्तरीक्षं पयः सपिण्डिजलं मधु चाम्यसेत् ।

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

³ Caraka mentions fifteen good varieties of *Śāli* rice—*Raktasāli*, *Mabāsāli*, *Kalama*, *Sakunābhṛta*, *Tūrṇaka*, *Dirghasāka*, *Gaura*, *Pāṇḍuka*, *Lāṅgula*, *Sugandhika*, *Lobavāla*, *Sāriva*, *Pramodaka*, *Paṭaṅga* and *Tapantiya*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 7-8).

The five inferior varieties of *Śāli* rice are *Yavaka*, *Hāyana*, *Pāṃsu*, *Vāpya* and *Naiṣadbaka*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 11).

C.f. Susruta. 46.4, Bhela. XXVIII. p. 48.

लोहितशालयः शुक्रधान्यानां पथ्यतमत्वे श्रेष्ठतमाभवन्ति

Caraka, Su. 25. p. 130.

तेषां लोहितकः श्रेष्ठो दोषान्नः शुक्रमूत्रजः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.6.

रक्तशालिर्वरस्तेषामरौक्ष्यात्लाघवेन च ।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 48.

षष्टिका यवगोधूमा लोहिता ये च शालयः ।

मुद्गाढकीमसूराश्च धान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.332.

⁴ कृष्णग्रीहिशालामुखजतुमुलनन्दीमुखलावक्षकत्वरितक कुक्कुटाण्डक पारावतक पाटल प्रभृतयो ग्रीह्यः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.12.

कृष्णग्रीहिर्वरस्तेषां कषायानुरसोलघुः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.14.

⁵ Besides the two varieties of *Ṣaṣṭika* rice one white and the other black white, Caraka mentions *Varaka*, *Uddālaka*, *Cina*, *Sārada*, *Ujjvala*, *Dardura*, *Gandhala* and *Kuruvinda* in this category.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 13-14).

C.f. Susruta. 46.8.

माषयूपेण यो भुक्त्वा घृताहृत्यं षष्टिकौदनम् ।

पयः पिबति रात्रिं स कृत्स्नां जायति वेगवान् ।

Caraka, Ci. II. 1.47.

षष्टिकः प्रवरस्तेषां कषायानुरसो लघुः ।

Susruta. 46.10.

⁶ The following varieties of inferior cereals are mentioned—*Pāṭala*, *Koradūṣa*, *Syāmāka*, *Lobitāṅga*, *Priyamgu*, *Mukunda*, *Jibṛṭṭi*, *Garmūṭṭi*, *Cārūka*, *Varaka*, *Sibira*, *Utkāṣa* and *Jārṇa*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 15-17).

wheat *Madhālikā* and *Nandimukhī* have been mentioned by Suśruta in the list of inferior foodgrains, which shows that wheat had not till then reached its present prominent position.¹ Barley continued to be the staple food grain besides rice.² Many pulses were in use but the most popular were *Mudga*, *Adhaki* and *Māsūra*.³ The medical works regard *Māṣa* as the worst pulse because it was difficult to digest.⁴ *Kulattba* is prescribed for a feeding mother with a view to increase her milk.⁵

Rice was washed and cooked in water or milk with fats, meat, fruits, tubers or pulses.⁶ Gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either

¹ कौरूपक इयामाक नीवार शान्तनु वरकोदालक प्रियंगु मधूलिका नान्दीमुखी कुशविन्द गवेषुक सरबक लोपपर्णी मुकुन्दक वेणुयव प्रभृतयः कुष्ठान्य विशेषाः ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.21.

² Caraka. Su. 27.19, Suśruta. Su. 46, Bhela. p. 44.

³ Caraka mentions, *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Rājamāṣa*, *Kulattba*, *Makushtaka*, *Caṇaka*, *Māsūra*, *Khaṇḍikā*, *Hareṇu*, *Simbi*, *Adhaki*, *Avalgujā*, *Edgaja*, *Nispāva*, *Kākāṇḍola* and *Atmaguptā*.

(Caraka. Su. 27. 22-23).

C.f. Bhela XXVIII. p. 48.

चणकाश्च मसूराश्च खण्डिकाः सहरेणवः ।

लघवः शीतमधुराः सकपायाः विरुक्षणाः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.28.

मुद्गवनमुद्गकलायमकुष्ठमसूरमङ्गल्यचणकसतीनत्रिपुटकहरेणुभादकी प्रभृतयः वैदलाः ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.27.

हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिनाश्च तयादके ।

कुलुत्थाश्च विशेषेण कपायमधुरा रसे ।

Bhela. p. 46.

मुद्गादकी मसूराश्च धान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः ।

Suśruta. Su. 46. 332.

⁴ माषाः शमीधान्यानाम् अपध्यतमत्वेन प्रकृष्टतमाभवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. 25. p. 130.

⁵ Kasyapa. Sam. XIX.

⁶ सुधीतः प्रसृतः स्विन्नः संतप्तश्चोदनो लघुः ।

अधोतोऽप्रसृतोऽस्विन्नः शीतश्चाप्योदनो गुरुः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.256.

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46.347.

गुडोदनं पायसं च हविर्ध्वं क्षीरपष्टिकम्

दध्योदनं हविष्णूर्णं मांसं विशान्नमेव च ।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

स्नेहमांसैर्फलैः कन्दैर्वैदलाम्लैश्च संयुताः ।

गुरवो बृंहणा बल्या ये च क्षीरोपसाधिताः ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.349.

drunk or licked.¹ One of the tasty soups was prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates.²

All the old preparations of cereals such as groats, parched barley and rice, *Kulmāṣa*, *Saṣkuli*, *Pr̥tbuka*, *Kṛsara* and *Apāpa* were in use.³ Groats were also eaten in the form of a

¹ सिक्यैर्विरहितो मण्डः पेया सिक्यसमन्विता
विलेपी बहुसिक्या स्वाद् यवागूर्विरसद्रवा।

Susruta. Su. 46.345.

If the quantity of water mixed for cooking was four times that of food grains it was called *Vilepi*, if five times, it was called *Anna*, if six times, *Yavāgū* and if fourteen times *Mandā*.

अन्नं पञ्चगुणे तोये यवागूर्वद्गुणे पचेत्
चतुर्दशगुणे मण्डं विलेपी तु चतुर्गुणे।

Dalhaṇa on Susruta. Su. 46.

² पेयाहि सिद्धा सह धादिमेन तन्नेन चुक्नेन जलेन चोष्णा।
ससन्धवा चाशु विहन्ति तूष्णां कालोपपन्ना मरिचार्द्रकाम्याम्।

Kas. Sam. Su. 53.

³ *Saktu* (parched barley meal)—Caraka Su. 27.263. Groats mixed with clarified butter or cold water neither too thick nor too thin in consistency were called *Mantha*. They were also mixed with sour gruel, treacle, sugar, juice of sugarcane and grapes (Susruta. Su. 46. 385). Caraka Su. 27.262 also mentions groats of parched paddy.

सक्तवः सपिपायुक्ताः शीतवारिपरिष्कृताः
नात्यञ्छा नातिसान्द्राश्च मन्थइत्यभिधीयते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 6.28.

Dhānāḥ (parched barley, Caraka. Su. 27.264).
Sprouted barley was also parched (*Virūḍha dhānāḥ*).
विहृदधानाशङ्कुल्यो मधुक्रोडाः सपिण्डकाः।

पूपाः पूपलिकाश्चाश्च गुरवः पैष्टिकाः परम्।

Caraka. Su. 27.267.

Porridge of parched barley was also used. (*Vāṅya*).

हत्याद् व्याधीन् यथापूपो यावको वाट्यएव च।

Caraka. Su. 27.265.

Bhr̥ṣṭa taṇḍula—Parched rice was also used in preparing a porridge.
भृष्टतण्डुलनिष्ठान्ति गरस्तेष्मामयेष्वपि।

Caraka. Su. 27.257.

Kulmāṣa—Barley flour slightly boiled in warm water, and made into cakes.

यवपिष्टमुष्णोदकसिक्तमीषत् सिन्नमपूपीकृतं कुलमायमाहुः।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.260.

Saṣkuli—Delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesamum and fried in oil.

शालिपिष्टैः सतिलैस्तैलपक्वाः क्रियन्ते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.265.

C.f. Susruta. Su. 46.400.

चणकादिपिष्टकृताः सतिताः तैलभृष्टाःशङ्कुलीः।

Dalhaṇa on Susruta Su. 46.400.

paste.¹ A new preparation of rice or wheat called *Viṣyanda* is mentioned in the *Suśruta*.² A cake of barley flour with a broad bottom and a pointed top with some marks in the middle was called *Svastika*.³ Many sweet preparations were made from powdered wheat flour in this period.⁴

Pulses such as *Mudga*, *Masūra*, gram and pea were parched and eaten,⁵ besides being made into soups.⁶ Beans of *mudga*

Prithaka

आर्द्रशालिधान्यं मृदुभ्रष्टं मृसलाघातविपटीभूतावयवं पृथुका इत्युच्यन्ते।

Dalhapā.

C.f. Kas-Sam. p. 305, *Suśruta*. Su. 46.415.

Sāpa

निस्तुष्ययुक्तिभ्रष्टं च सूष्यं लघु विपच्यते।

Suśruta. Su. 46.310.

Kṛsara—a porridge prepared with sesamum rice and *māṣa* pulse (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.346).

वृथा कृसर संयाव पायसापूपशङ्कुलीः।

Yaj. I. 173.

Palalāṇḍana—Rice cooked with ground sesamum.

कृताकृतास्तण्डुलाश्च पललीदनमेव च।

Yaj. I. 287.

Apāpa—Cakes of barley or rice meal—*Caraka*. Su. 27.265.

¹ सक्तुनामबलेहिता।

Suśruta. Su. 46.412.

² *Viṣyanda*—It was either a preparation of rice grains fried in ghee, or wheat flour mixed with ghee, milk and treacle. It was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency. (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.398).

घृतभ्रष्ट तण्डुलाः प्रथवा ग्रामगोधूमचूर्णं च सपिः क्षीरगुडान्वितम्। नाति सान्द्रो नाति-
वनो विष्यन्दोनाम नामतः।

Dalhapā.

³ *Svastika*—*Suśruta*. Uttara. 60.33.

स्वस्तिको यवादि चूर्णैः कृतोऽधोभागे विस्तीर्ण ऊर्ध्वभागे तीक्ष्णो मध्ये बलिमय मुद्रा-
ङ्कितोभक्ष्य विशेषः।

Dalhapā.

⁴ *Sāmitāḥ* (preparation of powdered wheat meal) stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga*.

Suśruta. Su. 46.399.

⁵ मृद्गान् मसूराश्चणकान् कलायान् भुष्टान् युतान् नागरमाषिकाम्नाम्।

लिह्यात् तथैव त्रिफलाविडङ्ग चूर्णं विडङ्गप्लवयोरथवा।

Caraka. Cikitsā. 20.37.

⁶ *Yāṣa* was generally a soup of pulses prepared with spices (*kṛtāyāṣa*) or without them (*akṛtāyāṣa*). The *Kāśyapa Sārṁhitā* mentions twenty four varieties of *Yāṣas*. The most common were those prepared with *Mudga* and *Kulattiba*.

अस्नेह लवणं सर्वमकृतं कटुकैर्विना।

विज्ञेयं लवणस्नेहकटुकोः संयुतम् कृतम्।

Suśruta. Su. 46.379.

or gram when parched in fire were called *Ulumbāḥ*.¹ *Parpatas* were prepared with flour of pulses, as in the past.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as a most nourishing food.³ Unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest.⁴ Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, does,

मुद्गयूषोविरसिकायूषोवाडिमकस्तथा । १६ ।

चित्रकामलकालां च द्वौ यूषौ परिकीर्तितौ ।

पत्रकोलकयूषौ द्वौ संग्राही दीपनस्तथा २० ।

धान्ययूषोऽयं कीलत्थः फलयूषश्चभार्गव ।

पुष्पयूषः पत्रयूषो बल्कयूषस्तथैव च । २१ ।

मुख्यः पल्लवयूषश्च महायूषश्च तथैव च ।

रास्नायूषो महायूषश्च चाङ्गेर्यामूलकस्तथा । २२ ।

पुनर्नवातिबलयो गुडकाम्बलिकस्तथा ।

मुख्यत्रिकटयूषश्च लघुर्नवास्तुकेन च ।

Kasyapa. Yūṣa. 19-23.

जेयः पथ्यतमञ्जैव मुद्गयूषः कृताकृतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.367.

कुलत्थयूषोऽनिलहा स्वासपीनसनाशनः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.372.

¹ Suśruta. Su. 46.410.

मुद्गकलायादिशिम्बा अग्निपत्रवाहोलका इत्युच्यन्ते । होलकाः उलुम्बाः ।

Dalhapa.

² Caraka. Su. 27.272.

³ सर्वं दुग्धमभिष्यन्दि गव्यं तेभ्योविशिष्यते ।

वाजी भवति दुग्धेन बलं चाप्युपजायते ।

संजीवनं संभवति सर्वं क्षीरमुदाहृतम् ।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 49.

क्षीरं सर्वेषां देहिनाञ्चानुशेते क्षीरं पिबन्तं च न रोग एति ।

क्षीरात्परं नान्यदिहास्ति दुग्ध्यं क्षीरात्परं नास्ति च जीवनीयम् ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 90.

उपवासाभ्यवभाष्यस्त्रीमारुतातपकर्मभिः ।

क्लान्तानामनुपानार्थं पयः पथ्यं यथामृतम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.322.

⁴ पयोभिष्यन्दि गुर्वमं प्रायशः परिकीर्तितम् ।

धारोष्णं गुणवत् क्षीरं विपरीतमथोन्यथा ।

तदेवातिशूतं शीतं गुरु बृंहणमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45. 61-63.

camels and women was used.¹ Milk of buffaloes was considered good for those whose digestive system was good.² Beastings were avoided for a few days. Yājñavalkya lays down that the milk of a cow in heat, not giving milk at proper time, without her young one or the milk of camels, one hoofed animals, women, animals living in a forest and of sheep should be avoided.³ Milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best and those of a sheep the worst.⁴ Milk rice was popular as before.⁵

The use of curds is not recommended in the autumn, the summer and the spring seasons.⁶ Cream of milk, and of curds, whey, fresh butter, clarified butter and butter milk were all used.⁷

- ¹ अविक्षीरमजाक्षीरं गोक्षीरं माहिषं च यत् ।
उष्ट्रीणामच नापीनां वडवायाः स्त्रियास्तथा ।

Caraka. Su. I. 106.

- ² महाभिष्यन्दि मधुरं माहिषं वल्लिनाशनम् ।

Susruta. Su. 45.55.

- ³ Caraka. Su. 27.

संश्लिष्यनिर्दशावत्सा गोपयः परिवर्जयेत् ।
श्रीष्टुर्मैकशफं स्वैर्णमारण्यकमयाविकम् ।

Yaj. I. 170.

- ⁴ गुव्यं सपिः सपिषां गोक्षीरं क्षीराणाम् (पथ्यतमत्वेन श्रेष्ठतमामवन्ति)
आविकं सपिः सपिषाम् अविक्षीरं क्षीराणाम् (अपथ्यतमत्वेन प्रकुष्ठतमामवन्ति)

Caraka. Su. 25 p. 281.

गुव्यं क्षीरं घृतं श्रेष्ठम् ।

Susruta. Su. 6.336.

- ⁵ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Yaj. I. 303, 173. Susruta. Su. 46.346. It appears from Yaj. that milk rice with *Saffika* rice was considered the best.

- ⁶ शरद्वर्षीष्मवसन्तेषु प्रायशो दधि गहितम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.226.

Kasyapa. Bhoj. Kalpa 46, Susruta. 45.65.

Curds prepared from skimmed milk (*asāra dadhi*, Susruta. 45. 83) were also used.

- ⁷ *Santānikā*—(cream of milk) It was considered a tonic—Susruta. Su. 45.106.

Sara (cream of curds)

सरः दध्यपरि स्नेहः ।

Cakrapāṇi. on Caraka. Su. 227.

Mastu (whey)—It is called *Maṇḍa* in Caraka. Su. 27.227.

Navanīta (fresh butter)—Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.92.

Ghṛtam (clarified butter)—Cow's butter was considered the best. Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.96.

Takra (butter milk)—Kasyapa Bhoj. 46, Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.84.

Milk not fully curdled was considered injurious to health. Beastings, and solid part of inspissated milk were considered heavy to digest.¹ Curds churned without water were also used.² Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds.³ Old clarified butter was considered a panacea while condensed upper part of clarified butter was considered good for health.⁴

Curds were eaten with treacle⁵ and sweets were prepared with inspissated milk.⁶ Of the preparation of curds *rasālā* or *Sikharipi*⁷ was the most popular, but there was another preparation of curds called *Saffaka*. In one variety of *Saffaka*, pieces of cloves, and seeds of sour pomegranate were mixed with curds. Camphor was used to make it fragrant.⁸

¹ *Mandadadhi*—Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.67.

² *Gbolam*—

यत्तु सस्नेहमजलं मधितं घोलमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45.85.

³ क्षीरोत्थं पुनर्नवनीतमुत्कृष्टस्नेहमाधुर्यमतिशीतं सौकुमार्यकरं चक्षुष्यं संग्राहि रक्त-
पित्तनेत्ररोगहरं प्रसादनं च ।

Susruta. Su. 45.93.

⁴ *Kumbha ghrtam*—Clarified butter matured from 11 to 100 years.

Ghrta mandam—Condensed upper stratum of clarified butter.

Susruta. Su. 45.106.

⁵ *Sagunda dadhi*—Susruta. Su. 27.277.

⁶ *Kūriśā* (solid ingredients of inspissated milk)—It is called *Kilāta* in Caraka. Su. 27.233. Its daily use is not recommended. Sweets prepared from it were called *Kūriśā vikṛtāḥ*. Susruta. Su. 46.403.

कूर्चिकीभूत क्षीरस्य घनभागः किलाटः ।

Cakrapāṇi.

कूर्चिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शीकरं गव्यमाहिषे
मत्स्यान्दधि च मापांश्च न शीलयेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 5.9.

विप्रधितं क्षीरं घनत्वमापन्नं कूर्चिका ।

Dalhāṇa. on Susruta Su. 45.90.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 27.276, Susruta. Su. 46.384.

अर्धाटकं सुचिरपर्युषितस्यदध्नः खण्डस्यपोडशपलानिशशिप्रभस्य ।
सर्पिष्पलं मधुपलं मरिचद्विकर्षम् सुव्याः पलार्धमपि चार्धपलं चतुर्णाम् ।
सूक्ष्मे पटे ललनया मृदुपाणिघृष्टा कर्पूरभूलिसुरभीकृत पात्र संस्था ।
एषावृकोदरकृता सरसा रसाला याज्ज्वादिता भगवता मधुसूदनेन ।

Cakrapāṇi.

⁸ खवज्ज्योपखण्डेस्तु दधि निर्मध्यं गालितम् ।

दाडिम्बीजसंयुक्तं चन्द्रचूर्णविवृणितम् ।

सट्टकं सुप्रमोदास्थं नलादिभिश्चाहृतम् ।

Dalhāṇa.

MEAT DIET

Meat was considered a very nourishing diet.¹ It is prescribed for the weak, the convalescent and the people addicted to wine and women and for those doing excessive physical work.² Meat of goats, *Robita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, and alligators was considered good for food.³ Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds.⁴

For those whose digestive system was good or who took physical exercise daily the flesh of creatures which dart suddenly on their prey, living in holes underground, in marshy places, in water or walking in water was regarded as suitable.⁵ As the digestive system is generally in good order in winter the flesh of these animals is also recommended for the winter season.⁶

Dried or putrid flesh as well as the flesh of those animals which were diseased, old, emaciated or poisonous, of those bitten by snakes, of tender in age, of those fed on unnatural food and of those struck with a poisoned dart was avoided.⁷

¹ शरीरबृहणे नान्यत् खाद्यं मांसाद् विशिष्यते ।

Caraka. Su. 27.86.

² प्राणिनः सर्वभूतानां हृद्यो मांसरसः परम् शुष्यतां व्याधिमुक्ततां कृशानां क्षीणरेतसाम् । बलवर्णाग्निनां चैव रसं विद्याद्यथामृतम् । सर्वरोगप्रशमनं यथा स्वविहितं रसम् । विद्यात् स्वयं बलकरं वयोवृद्धीन्द्रियायुधम् । व्यायामनित्याः स्त्रीनित्याः मद्यनित्याश्च ये नराः । नित्यं मांसरसाहारा नातुराः स्मृतं पुंजला ।

Caraka. Su. 27. 312-315.

³ तत्र शास्त्रिष्विष्टकमुद्गलावकपिञ्जलएणशशारभशम्बरादीन्याहारद्रव्याणि प्रकृतिलघून्यपि मात्रापेक्षीणिभवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. V. 4.

⁴ ऐशेयं मृगमांसानां लावः पक्षिणां गोधा विलेशयानां रोहितो मत्स्यानां . . . इति प्रकृत्यैव हिततमानामाहारविकाराणां प्राधान्यतो द्रव्याणि व्याख्यातानि भवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. 25.38.

लावतित्तिरसारंग कुरङ्गैकपिञ्जलाः ।

मयूरवर्मिकूर्माश्च श्रेष्ठा मांसगणेष्विह ।

Susruta. Su. 46.333.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 27. 56, 58.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 6. 11-12.

⁷ मृतं कृशं चातिमेघं वृद्धं बालं विषेहतम् ।

अगोचरमृतम् व्यातसूयितमांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.311.

Meat soup, prepared with *viḍa* salt, cumin and asafoetida was considered a pleasant tonic.¹ Flesh was also cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices.² Sometimes it was cooked in an oven (*Kanda*) with the powder of black mustard and some fragrant substances.³ Boneless flesh was boiled, and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger, *guda* and clarified butter were also added to it before use.⁴ Two varieties of stuffing (*vesavāra*) one sweet and the other saltish are mentioned.⁵ Seasoned meat, minced meat, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, fried in oil or clarified butter was relished.⁶

¹ प्रीणनः प्राणजननः स्वासकासक्षयापहः।

वातपित्तश्रमहरो हृद्योमांसरसः स्मृतः।

.....
आप्यायनः संहननः शुक्रदो बलवर्धनः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 359-61.

² स्नेहमांसैः फलैः कन्दैः वैदलाम्लैश्च संयुताः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 349.

स्नेहगोरसधान्याम्लफलाम्लकटुकैः सह, सिद्धं मांसं हितं बल्यरोचनं बृंहणं गुह।

Susruta. Su. 46. 352.

³ पिशितं सौरभैलिप्तं कन्दुपक्वम् मधुप्रभम्।

राजिकाकल्लिलिप्तं च कन्दुपाचितमुच्यते।

Dalhaja on Susruta. Su. 46. 356.

⁴ मांसं निरस्थि सुस्विन्नं पुनर्दूषदि पेषितम्।

पिप्पलीशुण्ठिमरिचगुडसपिःसमन्वितम्।

ऐक्यं पाचयेत् सम्मन् वेतवार इति स्मृतः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 365-66.

⁵ Susruta. Su. 46. 364.

⁶ भृष्टं बहुधूते सिक्तं मुहुःशणाम्बुना मृदु।

जीरकादीर्घेन मांसं परिशुष्कं तदुच्यते। तदेवगोरसादानं प्रदिग्बमिति श्रुतम्।

Dalhaja on Susruta Su. 46 Sl. 353

जल्लुप्तं भजितं पिष्टं प्रतप्तं कन्दुपाचितम्।

परिशुष्कं प्रदिग्धं च शूल्यं यच्चान्यदीदृशम्।

मांसं यत्तैलसिद्धं तद् दीर्योष्णं पित्तकृद् गुहः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 356-57.

भजितं स्वाद् घृतादी तु पिष्ट्वा यत्साधितं पुनः।

अधूपादिकृतं पिष्टं दधिदाडिमसौरभैः।

सिद्धं साज्यैस्तयाज्जाजी सामुद्रमरिचैस्तथा

अङ्गारादिषु यत्पक्वं प्रतप्तं तदुदाहृतम्।

.....
सिक्त्वा सिक्त्वाम्बुधाराभिः विधूमेजनौ प्रतापयेत्

फलाम्लेनापि यत्पक्वं शल्यं तत्सौरभान्वितम्।

Dalhaja on the above

But daily use of seasoned meat is not recommended.¹ Meat was also cooked with rice, fruits and vegetables.² An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile was used by those addicted to excessive sexual indulgence.³ Just as in Manu, Yājñavalkya recommends meat diet for maintenance of life and on the occasion of sacrifices for gods or manes.⁴

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be widely used and eight varieties of honey are mentioned in the medical works.⁵ Of these the variety collected by small bees (*māṅṣika*) was considered the best and that by big black bees (*bhrāmara*) was considered heavy to digest.⁶ The use of honey was considered particularly useful in the rainy season.⁷

Many varieties of sugarcane are mentioned.⁸ Of these the thin reed variety called *Vamśaka* was considered the best while

¹ बल्लूरुषुष्कशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च।

नाम्यसेद् गौरवान्मांसं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत्।

Caraka. Su. 3.10.

² Caraka Su. 27.266, Susruta. Su. 46.407.

³ तप्ते सपिधि नक्राण्डं ताम्रचूडाण्डमिश्रितम्।

युक्तं षष्टिकचूर्णेन सपिपाऽभिनवेन च।

पक्त्वा पूषलिकां खावेद् वाह्नीमण्डपोनरः।

य इच्छेदशवदं गन्तुं प्रसेक्तुं गजवच्च यः।

Caraka. Cikitsa. II. 28-29.

⁴ अतः शुण्धं मांसस्य विधिं भक्षणवर्जिते।

प्राणात्यये तथा श्वाद्धे प्रीक्षितं द्विजकाम्यया।

देवान् पितॄन् समम्यर्घ्यं खादन् मांसं न दोषभाक्।

Yaj. I. 178-79

⁵ The eight varieties are *Māṅṣika*, *Bhrāmara*, *Kṣaudra*, *Paultika*, *Chātra*, *Ārghya*, *Auddālika* and *Dāla*.

पौलिकं भ्रामरं क्षौद्रं माक्षिकं छात्रमेव च।

आर्घ्यमौद्दालिकं दालमित्यष्टौ मधुजातयः।

Susruta. Su. 45.133.

⁶ माक्षिकं भ्रामरं क्षौद्रं पौलिकं मधुजातयः।

माक्षिकं प्रवरं तेषां विशेषाद् भ्रामरं गृहः।

Caraka. Su. 27.242.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 6, Bhela, p. 25.

⁸ पीण्डुको भीरुकश्चैव वंशकः श्वेतपीरकः।

कान्तारस्तापसेक्षुश्च काण्डेक्षुः सूषिपत्रकः।

नैपालो दीर्घपत्रश्च नीलपीरोऽथ कोशकृत्।

Susruta. Su. 45. 149-150.

that grown in northern Bengal, called *Paundra*, the next best.¹ The juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine was not considered good.² All the products of sugarcane *phāṇita*, (inspissated juice of sugarcane), *Guda*, red sugar, unrefined white sugar, crystal sugar and sugarcandy were widely used.³ It was believed that these products became cooler and sweeter as their whiteness increased as a result of purifying but became more and more difficult to digest.⁴ Sugar was also prepared with honey, *madhūka* flowers and a grass called *Yavāsa*.⁵ *Matsyandikā* was a variety of sugarcandy, the crystals of which were globular in shape like the eggs of a fish.⁶

Sweets were prepared with wheat flour, milk and inspissated milk by the addition of honey, *guda* or sugar.⁷ Even the

¹ भानूपजोजाङ्गलजोवरिण्डः सुभूमिजालो गुरु बद्धचक्षुः।

सामुद्रपीण्डेक्षुकवंशकानामिक्षुः प्रशस्तस्तु परः परो यः।

Kasyapa Bhojana 103.

पीण्डकाद् वंशको वरः।

Caraka, Su. 27.237.

² यान्त्रिकस्तु विदहते।

Caraka Su. 27.236.

गुरुविदाहीविष्टम्भी यान्त्रिकस्तु प्रकीर्तितः।

Susruta, Su. 45.158.

³ *Phāṇita*—Susruta, Su. 45.159.

Guda—Caraka, Su. 27, Susruta, Su. 45.158, Yaj. I. 303. Old *guda* was considered very efficacious as a medicine (Susruta Su. 45.161). A variety of *Guda* called *Kṣudraguda* was not considered good. Caraka, Su. 25.

According to Pāṇini the word *guda* is connected with *Gauda* region (East Bengal).

Gudaśarkarā (red sugar)—Caraka, Su. 27.240.

Śarkarā (crystal sugar)—Caraka, Su. 27.239, Susruta, Su. 45.162.

Khaṇḍa (unrefined white sugar)—Caraka, Su. 27.239, Susruta, 45.162.

⁴ यथायथैषा वैमल्यं मधुरत्वं तथा तथा।

स्नेहणीरवशैत्वानि सरत्वं च तथा तथा।

Susruta, Su. 45.163.

⁵ *Madhūśarkarā*—(sugar prepared from honey)—Susruta, Su. 45.166.

Yavāsa Śarkarā—sugar prepared from *Yavāsa* (a kind of grass)—Susruta, Su. 45.167.

Madhūkaśarkarā (sugar prepared from *madhūka* flowers) Susruta, Su. 45.169.

⁶ Caraka, Su. 27.239, Susruta, Su. 45.162.

⁷ *Sāmitāḥ*—Sweets prepared with powdered wheat flour.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 5.

Kṣīrakṛta bhakṣyāḥ—sweets prepared with milk—Susruta Su. 46.392.

Kārcikavikṛtāḥ—Sweets prepared with inspissated milk.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 140, f. n. 4.

old preparations were made more tasteful by the addition of some new ingredients. In the preparation of *Sanjyāva* wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardamom, pepper and ginger were used.¹ *Ghr̥tapūra* was also prepared with these substances but thin pieces of kernel of cocoanut were added to it.² *Madhusīrṣaka* or *Madhukroḍa* was a sweet which was prepared with wheat flour but had honey or clarified butter inside.³ *Pūpalikā* was a small cake of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with *gūḍa* inside.⁴ Sometimes a stuffing prepared with *Mudga* pulse was also used.⁵ Another sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter is called *Utkārikā*.⁶ *Vartikā* was a similar sweet preparation in the form of a roll.⁷

Gandika—Sweets prepared with treacle and wheat flour. *Susruta*. Su. 46.394.

The old sweets such as *modaka*, *pāpa* and *phṇaka* were in common use. (*Susruta* Su. 46.395-399). *Pupās* were also prepared with milk and sugarcane juice (*Kāṭhakaśūrasa—pūpakāḥ*).

¹ मधुशीर्षकसंयावाः पूपा ये ते विशेषतः

Susruta. Su. 46.392.

गोधूमसमिता मधु दुग्धेन मोदयित्वा सुशोभनाम्
पचेद् घृतोत्तरे खण्डे क्षिपेद् भाण्डे नवे ततः।
संयावोज्झी युतश्चूर्णोःखण्डैलामरिचाद्रंके।

Dalhāṇa.

² मदिताः समिताः क्षीरनालिकेरसितादिभिः।

अवगाह्य घृते पक्वो घृतपूरोज्ज्वमुत्तमः।

Susruta. Su. 46.393.

गोधूमपट्टशुद्धिकां क्षीरेण संमर्द्य सर्पिषा विस्तार्य पक्त्वा सितायुक्तां कुर्याद् इत्येष
हविष्पूरः धेवर इतिलोके।

Srī Kaṇṭhadatta Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

³ *Susruta*. Su. 46.395.

समितावेष्टिताः पाकघनीभूताः मधुपुतोदराः मधुमस्तकाः त एव मधुशीर्षकाः।

Dalhāṇa.

पाकघनीभूतमधुगर्भः गोधूमपिष्टकः वेष्टितः पक्वः सचतुर्जातकादि भक्ष्यविशेषः
मधुमस्तकः। अन्येतु गोधूमसमिता घृतयुक्तां तोष्य मर्दयित्वा घृतघनपूषित्वा घृतेन पक्त्वा सित-
युक्तं कुर्यादित्येष मधुमस्तकः।

Srī Kaṇṭhadatta, Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

⁴ विमर्द्य समिताचूर्णं मूत्रपाकं गुडान्वितम्।

घृतावगाहे गुडिकां घृतां पक्वां सकेशराम्।

सौगन्धिकाधिवासां च कुर्यात्पूपलिकां बुधः।

Nala quoted by *Cakrapāṇi*.

⁵ *Mudga Vesavāra*—*Susruta*. Su. 46.399.

⁶ *Utkārikā*—*Caraka*. Ci. 2, Sweets prepared with milk treacle and ghee.

⁷ *Vartikā*—Sweets in the form of a roll.

Also see *Vidyanda* F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 2.

SALT, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

Caraka mentions five varieties of salts¹—rock salt, *sauvarcal*, *bida*, *audbbida* and sea salt. Suśruta adds some more varieties.² Of all these varieties the rock salt was considered the best.³

A number of spices were used for seasoning but the most common were long pepper, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, cumin, coriander and cardamom. Some green leaves and fruits were also used in the preparation of various dishes.⁴ The use of onions and garlic is interdicted in the Smṛtis.⁵ Of all the aromatic spices long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best.⁶

Sour gruel was prepared with cooked rice or barley.⁷ Vinegar was prepared with butter milk mixed with *guda* or honey. The mixture was fermented by keeping the pot containing the mixture in a heap of corn.⁸ Dalhaṇa mentions three varieties

¹ सौवर्चलं सैन्धवं च विडमीद्विदमेव च ।

सामुद्रेण सहैतानि पञ्चस्युर्लवणानि च ।

Caraka Su. I. 88-89.

² The additional varieties mentioned by Suśruta are—*Romaka*, *Vālukaila*, *Sailamūlākarodbhava*, *Ūjara*, *Gaṇikā*, *Yavakṣāra*, *Svarjikākṣāra*, *Pāhima* and *Takkakṣāra*. (Suśruta. Su. 46. 320-322).

³ सैन्धवं लवणेषु च ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.336.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 27. 164-175, 294-297.

Asafoetida is called *Bāhlika* by Bhela which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

⁵ पलाण्डुं विड् वराहं च छत्राकं ग्रामकुक्कुटम्
लशुनं गूञ्जनंचैव जग्ज्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

Yaj. I. 176.

⁶ Dry ginger is called a panacea (*Viśvabheṣaja*) in Caraka. Su. 25.37.

धानी दाडिममलेषु पिप्पली नागरं कटौ ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.336.

⁷ Two varieties of sour gruel, one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*, Suśruta. Su. 45. 213) and the other with grains (*dhānyāmbu*, Suśruta Su. 45.214) were in use. Sour gruel was considered good for sea faring men.

समुद्रमाश्रितानाञ्च जनानां सात्त्विकमुच्यते ।

Suśruta. Su. 45.216.

⁸ यन्मस्तवादिशुचीभाण्डे सगुडक्षीद्रकाञ्जिकम् ।

धान्यराशौ विराजस्य शुक्तं चुक्तं तदुच्यते ।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka. Su. 27.284.

C.f. Kasyapa. Bhojana 46.

of vinegar prepared from *guḍa*, juice of sugarcane and honey.¹ Vegetables such as radish and gourd were preserved in vinegar.²

A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *Parāṣaka* and citrus medica was called *Rāga*. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugarcandy to sweeten it.³ Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called *Ṣāḍavas*.⁴

According to another interpretation *Rāgaṣāḍava* was a preparation of green mango fruit. The fruit was boiled, the skin removed and treacle added to the juice. It was fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices were added to it before use.⁵ A preparation of curds with *Kapittha* and *Cāngeri*, pepper, cumin and some other spices was called *Khaḍa*,⁶ but when oil, sesamum, and māṣa were added to it, it was called *Kāmbalika*.⁷

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Among the fats used in food Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils and animal fats, *Vasā* and *Majjā*. He recommends

¹ गुडाम्बुना सतलेन सन्धानं काञ्जिकान्तु यत्
कन्दशाकफलैर्युक्तं गुडयुक्तं तदुच्यते ।
रसशुक्तानि दधुरसाधिकृतानि न
जम्बीरस्य फलरसं पिप्पलीमुलसंयुतम् ।
मधुभाण्डे विनिक्षिप्य धान्यराशौ निधापयेत्
व्यह्णेन तज्जातरसं मधुशुक्तमुदालुतम् ।

Dalhāṇa on Susruta. Su. 45.212.

² Vegetables preserved in vinegar were called *Āṣṭa*.
शुक्लमध्यस्थितं मूलककूष्माण्डादि ।

Susruta. Su. 45.211.

³ सितारुचकसिन्धूरयैः सवृक्षाम्लपरुषकैः ।
जम्बूफलरसैर्युक्तो रागो राजिकयन्वितः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.

⁴ पादवस्तु मधुराम्लद्रव्यकृतः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.

⁵ क्वथितान्तु गुडोपेतं सहकारफलं नवम् ।
तैलनागरसंयुक्तं विशेष्योरागपादवः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.

⁶ कपित्थकचाङ्गेरी मरिचाजानिचिः ।
सुपक्वः खड्युषोऽयमथ काम्बलि गोपरः ।
दध्यम्ललवणस्नेहितलमापसमन्वितः ।

Nala quoted by Dalhāṇa.

⁷ दधिभस्वभलसिद्धस्तु यूषः काम्बलिकः स्मृतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.381.

the use of clarified butter in autumn, animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats clarified butter was considered the best.¹ Among the oils sesamum oil was regarded as the best medium for cooking or frying but daily use of oils is not recommended.² A number of other seeds are mentioned from which oil was extracted and used in food.³

Caraka appears to have been familiar with the early use of oil by the non-Aryans. He states that by using oils the kings of *Daityas* conquered old age, remained healthy, did not feel tired and fought bravely in the battles.⁴ But Suśruta does not recommend their excessive use because food articles cooked in oils are difficult to digest.⁵

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The medical works mention a number of old fruits but add some new varieties and new fruits. *Sauvira* is a new variety of

¹ सर्पिस्तैलं वसामञ्जा सर्वस्नेहोत्तमा मताः।

एषु चैवोत्तमं सर्पिः संस्कारस्यानुवर्तनात्। ११ ३।

सर्पिः शरदि पातव्यं वसामञ्जा च माधवे।

तैलं प्रावृषि नात्युष्णशीते स्नेहं पिबेन्नरः। १८।

Caraka. Su. 13.13, 18.

² सर्वेषां तैलजातानां तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Caraka. Su. 13.12.

नित्यानिद्यात्मविधौ तिलतैलं घृते बुधः प्रयुक्तं शीतं।

Kasyapa. 17.9.

सर्वेभ्यस्तैलं तैलेभ्यस्तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Susruta. Su. 45.130.

³ Bhela mentions sesamum, *eranda*, *śilva*, *vibhītaka*, *keśi*, *karaija* and *iṅguḍā* among the oilseeds from which oil was extracted.—Bhela. p. 49.

Caraka also mentions *Sarṣapa* (mustard), *Priyāla*, *Atasī* (linseed), *Kusumbha* (safflower)—Caraka. Su. 27. 281-90.

तिलः प्रियालाभिषुकी विभीतकश्चित्राभयैः षडमधूक सर्वपाः।

कुसुम्भं बिल्वारकमूलकातसी निकोचकादोऽथ करञ्ज शिषुकाः।

Caraka. Su. 13.10.

⁴ तैलप्रयोगादजरानिर्विकारा जितश्रमाः।

आसन्नतिबला संख्ये रैत्याधिपतयः पुरा।

Caraka. Su. 27.286.

Probably, on account of its exotic nature, Patañjali refers to the belief that a Brāhmaṇa should not sell oil.

तैलं न विव्रेतव्यम्

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn Pt. I. p. 25.

⁵ विद्याहिनस्तैलकृता गुरवः कटुपाकिनः।

जृष्णा मास्तद्विद्वद्भिः पित्तलास्त्वक् प्रादुषणाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.406.

jujube besides the old three. Oranges (*nāgarāṅga*), *Bhavya* (*Delenia speciosa*) and *Pārāvata* are some of the new fruits. Two varieties of grapes, pomegranates and *Parūṣakas*, one sweet and the other sour are mentioned.¹

Among the best fruits Suśruta mentions pomegranates, *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), grapes, dates, *parūṣaka*, *rājādana*, and *mātālūṅga* (citrus medica).² We learn from Yuan Chwang that peaches and pears were introduced into India by the Chinese in the first century A.D.³ In the Bhārhut railings and the Stūpa of Sāñchī there is a figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf attached to it. It indicates that grapes were probably imported from the North West of India.⁴ Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used.⁵ All fruits diseased and eaten by maggots, over ripe, unseasonal and unripe were avoided.⁶ Bhela especially recommends the use of *āmalaka*, *haritakā* and *vibbitakā*.⁷

¹ Caraka : mentions the following fruits :—

Grapes, date, *phalgu*, *parūṣaka*, *bassia-latifolia*, *āmṛataka*, palm fruit, *cocoonut*, *bhavya*, *badara*, *ārṇaka*, *karandbu*, *lakusa*, *pārāvata*, *kālmāryāphala*, *tāda*, *śaka*, *kapitttha*, *bilva*, mango, *jambū*, *śiñcitikā* (apples), *gāṅgeruka*, *todana*, *dhavvana*, *panasa* (jack fruit), *mota* (banana), *bhārgyāphala*, *vikanikata*, *prācināmalaka*, *iṅgudīphala*, *tinduka*, *āmalaka*, *vibbitaka*, *granate*, *vṛkṣāmla*, *amlīka* (tamarind), *amlayetata*, *mātālūṅga* (citrus), *ūrā*, *nāgarāṅga* (oranges), *vātāma* (almond), *abbiśūka* (pistachio), *laka*, *nikocaka*, *urumāṣa*, *śleṣmātaka*, *anikaṣa*, *śamīphala*, *karaiṣa*, *aramardaka*, *vārtāka*, *paryaṣakīphala*, *ākṣikīphala*, *ānupaki*, *alvatīṣa*, *śaka*, *nyagrodha* and *bhallātaka*.

Caraka. Su. 27. 122-62.

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46, 139, 163, 177, 182, 187, 190-96.

² वाङ्मनसः नामलकं द्राक्षा खर्जूरं सपल्लवकम्
राजः इदं मातुलुङ्गं फलवर्गं प्रशस्यते।

Suśruta. 46.335.

For : condiment and jellies prepared from sour fruits please see 'Spices and Condiments' F. D. A. I. Chapter V p. 147.

³ Watters Vol. I. p. 179. See F. D. A. I. p. 183, f. n. 1.

⁴ Cunningham—Bhārhut, pp. 32-33.

⁵ G. Lindwedel—Buddhist Art, p. 34, Fig. 10.

⁶ वृक्षमाद्योदभिषुक्त्वा निचुलपिचुनिकोचकोरुमाणप्रभृतीनि।

Suśruta. Su. 46.187.

⁷ स्वाधितं कृमिजुष्टं च पाकातीतमकालजम्।

वर्जनीयं फलं सर्वमपर्यागतमेव च।

Suśruta. Su. 46. 210.

⁷ प्रभुक्त्वा मलकं खादेद् भुक्त्वा चापि हरीतकीम्

परिणामे च भुक्तस्य खादेच्चैव विभीतकीम्।

Bhela. p. 13.

A number of vegetables were in use.¹ These included flowers, leaves, fruits, stems and bulbs. Of these each succeeding one is heavier of digestion than the one immediately preceding it in the order of enumeration.² Pot herbs and leaves of edible plants which are found to be rough or putrefied or worm-eaten as well as those growing in an improper or un congenial soil or growing out of season were avoided as unfit for use.³ Of the pot herbs *satina*, *vāstuka*, *cūñcu*, *cilli*, green radish, *mandūkapaṇṇi* and *jivanli* were regarded as the best.⁴ Leaves and stalks of mustard were considered to be the worst.⁵ *Paṭola* and *Vārtaka* (brinjal) were among the good fruits.⁶ Daily use of lotus stalks and roots is not recommended probably because they were difficult to digest. Some dry vegetables such as radish were also used.⁷ Soup prepared with the tender leaves of pot herbs was

¹ Caraka mentions the following vegetables :—

Pāṭhā, *suṣā*, *saṭi*, *vāstuka*, *sumiṣaṇṇaka*, *kākamācī*, *rājaka*, *avaka*, *kālatāka*, *amlacāṅgerī*, *upodūkā*, *tanḍuliya*, *mandūkapaṇṇi*, *vetrāgra*, *kucela*, *var*, *satiktaka*, *karko*, *taka*, *avalgaṇṇa*, *paṭola*, *śakulādāni*, *vṛṣapaṇṇa*, *śāraṅgeṣṭa*, *kembi*, *ika*, *kaṭhillaka*, *nāḍi*, *kalāya*, (pea), *gojibha*, *vārtakī* (brinjal), *tilapaṇṇi*, *kalaka*, *karkasa*, *nimba*, *parpaṭa*, *mudgapaṇṇi*, *māṣapaṇṇi*, *phañji*, *cilli*, *kutumbaka*, *āluka*, *kaṭhijāra*, *ṣaṇa*, *puṣpa*, *śālmaliṣuṣpa*, *kārbudāra*, *suvarcala*, *niṣpāva*, *kovidāra*, *paṭtāra*, *kumārājīva*, *loṭṭaka*, *pālāṅki*, *marīṣa*, *kalambā*, *nālikā*, *āsuri* (black mustard), *kusumbha*, *vrkadbhūmaka*, *lakṣmaṇa*, *prapūṇāda*, *nalini*, *kūṭheraka*, *lo*, *vikā*, *yavaśāka*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, *avalgaṇṇa*, *yātuka*, *śālakalyāṇi*, *tripaṇṇi*, *pīlupaṇṇi*.

Leaves of *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *plakṣa*, lotus, *vats*, *ādāni*, *gaṇḍāra*, *citraka*, *dreyasī*, *bilvapaṇṇi*, *bilvapaṭra*, *bhaṇḍī*, *śatāvārī*, *balā*, *jivanti*, *parvaṇi*, *par*, *vapaṇṇi*, *lāṅgalakṣī*, *urubhūka*, *tila*, *vetasa*, *pancāṅgulī*, *kusumbha*, *trapa*, *śa*, *ervāraka*, *alābū*, *cirbhita*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, *urvārūka*, *kelutā*, *kadamba*, *nadimāṣaka*, *ain*, *duka*, *utpala*, *tālapralamba*, *kārbajūra*, *tālaśāyā*, *taruṣa*, *śāluka*, *kraucādana*, *kaṣera*, *śrīṅgāṭaka*, *aṅkaladya*, *kumuda*, *utpala* (stalks, flowers and fruits), *puṣkarabija*, *munjātaka*, *vidārikanda*, *amlīkākanda*, *saṛṣa*, *śāka*, *piṇḍālu*, *cbatrāka*.

(Caraka. Su. 27. 8. 5-121).

² पुष्पं पत्रं फलं नालं कन्दाश्चगुरवः क्रमात् ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 2. 36.

³ Susruta. Su. Śākavarga. 46. 297.

⁴ सतीनो वास्तुकश्चूचू चिल्ली मूलकपोतिकाः ।

मण्डूकपर्णी जीवन्ती शाकवर्गे प्रशस्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 334.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 25.

⁶ तिक्ते पटोलवार्तिकं मधुरे घृतमुच्यते ।

शौद्रं पुगफलं श्वेष्टं कषाये सपरुषकम् ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 337.

⁷ बल्लूरं शुष्कशकानि शालूकानि विसानि च ।

नाभ्यसेद् गौरवान्मांसं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 5. 10.

called *khaḍa*.¹ Another preparation of pot herbs was called *siṇḍāke*. The pot herb was boiled and water squeezed out of it. Then some aromatic spices such as black cumin and black mustard were added to it and cakes formed of it. It was very much liked in *Suhma* country.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

All the medical works prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, especially in the winter season.³ Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner.⁴ Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is interdicted, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons.⁵ The Bhela *Saṁhitā* gives recipes of many beverages which were taken to do away with the effect of excessive drinking. This makes us infer that there were some people who were in the habit of drinking too much.⁶

Intoxicating drinks prepared with barley, rice,⁷ sugar,

¹ सशाकपल्लवेन कुतोयूषः खडः।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 13.23

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46.378.

² Suśruta. Su. 46.382.

मूलकादि शाकमेव किञ्चित् स्विन्नं क्षुण्णं सुगन्धिकटुकद्रव्यान्वितं वटकीकृतं सुक्षेपु सिण्हाकीत्युच्यते।

Dalhaṇa on the above.

Suhma=part of Rāḍha country. Districts of Hooghly, Hawrah, Bankura and Bardwan and the eastern portion of Midnapur.

³ बृहणं नेदशं किञ्चिदध्यान्नसहितसुरा।

तां तु रक्षो विशेषेण नातिमात्रं समाचरेत्।

Bhela. p. 32.

⁴ स्रोतसां शोचनं जीर्णं दीपनं लघु रोचनम्।१६१।

हर्षणं प्रीणनं बल्यं भयशोकशमापहम्।

प्रागल्भ्यं वीर्यं प्रतिभा तुष्टिं पुष्टिबलप्रदम्।१६२।

सात्विकं विधिवद्भुज्या पीतं स्यादमृतम् यथा।

Caraka. Su. 27. 191-193.

⁵ प्रमाणेन पिबेन्मद्यं नाति सेवेत पण्डितः।

युक्त्यातु सेव्यमानं तत्पानममृतमुच्यते।

Bhela p. 217.

सुरा कृशानां पुष्ट्यर्थमनुपानं विधीयते।

Caraka. Su. 27.323.

⁶ See F. D. A. I. Chapter V. p. 159.

⁷ *Surā* (prepared from barley or rice paste).

सुरा समण्डायवानाम्

Caraka. Su. 27.188.

It was also prepared from *madhūlikā* variety of wheat. Other varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals were:—

(a) *Prasannā* (cream of *surā*)—Suśruta. Su. 45.178.

boiled and unboiled juice of sugarcane, *guḍa*¹ and *vibhitaka*² were in common use. Sometimes in the preparation of these intoxicating drinks in place of water *surā* was used and it was called *surāsava*.³ Liquors were also prepared with *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and honey.⁴ Wine was also used.⁵ Susruta also mentions liquor prepared from dates.⁶ All the varieties mentioned by Kauṭilya were in use in this period. Distilled liquors were also used.⁷

In the Viṣṇudharma Sūtra (c. 100 A.D. to c. 300 A.D.) we come across a prohibition against the use by Brāhmaṇas of ten kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from *Madhūka* flowers, sugarcane juice, fruit of kapittha, jujube, dates, jack fruit, grapes, honey, and cocoanut, the tenth variety being *maireyaka*, the spiced liquor.

(b) *Jagala* (residue of wine)—Caraka. Su. 27.179, Susruta. Su. 45.180.

(c) *Bakkaṣa* (solid ingredients of *surā* devoid of liquid)—Susruta. Su. 45.181.

(d) *Kobala* (prepared from parched barley flour). Susruta. Su. 45.180.

सुरामण्डः प्रसन्ना स्यात् ततः कादम्बरी घना ।

तदधो जगलोन्नेयो मेघको जगलाद् घनः ।

वक्कसः हृत्सारः स्यात् सुराबीजं च विष्वक्म् ।

Dravyaguna Vijñāna Pt. II. p. 3.

¹ *Sarkarāsīdhu*, *Sarkarāsava* (prepared from sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.183, Susruta. Su. 45.183.

Pakvarasa sīdhu (prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45.184.

Sītarsa sīdhu (prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45.185.

Guḍasīdhu or *Guḍāsava* (prepared from treacle and flowers of *dhātaki*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

² *Ākṣikīśīdhu* (prepared from the bark of *akṣa*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

³ *Surāsava*—Caraka. Su. 27.185, Susruta. Su. 45.187.

⁴ *Mādhavi*—(prepared from *madhūka* flowers)—Caraka. Su. 6.39, 27.185, Susruta. Su. 45.190.

Madhu or *madhūāsava* (prepared from honey)—Caraka. Su. 27.187.

⁵ *Mārdavika* (prepared from grapes)—Susruta. Su. 45.172.

⁶ *Khārjūra* (prepared from dates, Susruta. Su. 45.174). It was also called *Vārūṇī*.

या लालवर्णूरसैरामृता साहि वारुणी ।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna. II. p. 33

⁷ An intoxicating drink in which the solid ingredients predominate is called *ariṣṭa*, one in which the liquid part predominates is called *āsava* and the liquor in which both are equally important is called *madya* (Susruta. Su. 45.194).

द्रव्यप्रधानमरिष्टं द्रव्यप्रधान आसवः उभयप्रधानममद्यम् ।

Dalhaga.

It makes us infer that these were the popular drinks with the non-Brahmanical classes.¹

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

For drinking purposes the rich, who were accustomed to taking dainties, used pure rain water especially in the rainy season.² Other sources of drinking water were wells, rivers, lakes, tanks, waterfalls and springs. It is laid down that in the rainy season either pure rainwater or boiled well or spring water should be used. In the winter season water from lakes and tanks should be used. Water from waterfalls or wells was used in the spring and summer seasons.³ It was believed that water of rivers flowing towards the west was easily digestible while that of rivers flowing towards the east was considered difficult to digest.⁴

Water having small insects or foul smell, thick, dirty or sticky was considered unfit for drinking,⁵ but dirty water could be purified by mixing it with *kataka*, *gomedaka*, lotus root, *śaivālmāla*, pearls or alum and straining it in a piece of cloth.⁶ Hot water was cooled in many ways, by immersing a water pitcher in cool water, by exposing water to currents of cool breeze, by

- ¹ माधुकर्मक्षवं टाङ्गं कौलं क्षाजूरपानसे।
मृद्रीका रस माध्वीके मरैयं नारिकेलजम्।
अमेध्यानि दशतानि मद्यानि ब्राह्मणस्य च।
राजन्मश्वैवैश्वयश्च स्पृष्ट्वैतानि न दुष्यति।

Vishnu Dh. Su. 22.83-84.

- ² सर्वानुपानेषु वरं वदन्ति मध्वं यदम्भः शुचिभाजनस्यम्।

Susruta. Su. 46.421.

Pure rain water is called *Gāṅga* while the impure one is named *sāṃudra* (Susruta. Su. 45.7).

C.f. Susruta. Su. 45.3, Caraka. Su. 27.194.

- ³ तत्र वर्षास्वान्तरिक्षमोद्भिदं वा सेवेत महगुणत्वात्; शरदि सर्वं प्रसन्नत्वात्; हेमन्ते सारसं ताडागं वा, वसन्ते कौषं प्रालवणं वा, ग्रीष्मेप्येवं; प्रावृषि चौष्ट्यमनमिबुष्टं सर्वं चेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.8.

- ⁴ तत्र नद्यः पश्चिमाभिमुक्ताः पथ्याः लघूदकत्वात् पूर्वाभिमुक्तास्तु न प्रशस्यन्ते गुरुदकत्वात्।

Susruta. Su. 45.21.

C.f. Caraka. Su. 27.207.

- ⁵ पिच्छिलं कृमिलं क्लिष्टं पर्णशैवालकर्मैः।

विवर्णविरसं सान्द्रं दुग्न्धि न हितं जलम्।

Caraka. Su. 27. 213-214.

C.f. Kasyapa. p. 358, Susruta. Su. 45. 9-11.

- ⁶ तत्र सप्त कलुषस्य प्रसादनानि भवन्ति। तद्यथा कतक, गोमेदक, बिसप्रन्थि, शैवालमूल, वस्त्राणि मुक्ता मणिर्येति।

Susruta. Su. 45.17.

churning it with a stick, by fanning, by siphoning it by means of a piece of linen, by burying the pitcher underneath a bed of sand and keeping it suspended on a pendent bracket.¹ Five kinds of stands were used for keeping water pots.²

Besides warm and cool water, liquors, soups of cereals, sour gruel and fruit juices, there were some other beverages which were used to aid digestion.³ Two kinds of syrups were prepared from treacle one sweet and the other sour. In the sour syrup the juice of such fruits as grapes and tamarind was used. Sometimes some aromatic spices were added to make it more tasty.⁴ Syrups were also prepared with grapes, *parāṣaka*, jujube, dates, honey and the juice of sugarcane.⁵

The Bhela Saṁhitā gives the recipe of a beverage which was very effective in quenching thirst. It was prepared with pounded berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and the juice of *Jāti* flowers.⁶ Another syrup was called *Kāṁmarya-*

¹ सप्तशीतीकरणानिभवन्ति, तद्यथा प्रवातस्थापनम् उदकप्रक्षेपणं, यष्टिकाभ्रामणं, व्यजनं, वस्त्रोपरणम् बालुका प्रक्षेपणं शिख्यावलम्बनं चेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.19.

² पञ्चनिक्षेपाणि भवन्ति । तद्यथा-फलकंयष्टकं मुञ्जवलयः, उदकं मञ्जिका, शिख्यञ्चेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.18.

³ शीतोष्णतोयासव मद्ययूप फलाम्ल धान्याम्लययो रसानाम् ।

यस्थानुपाननुहितं भवेद्यत्तस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयातत् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.419.

सुखेनपाचयत्यन्नं रोचयत्यपकर्षति

अनुपानं मनुध्याणां सात्मतां च प्रयच्छति ।

Bhela. XVII. p. 17.

⁴ गौडमम्लमनम्लं वा पानकं गुरुमूलम् ।

तदेव खण्डमूत्रीकाशकंरासहितं पुनः

साम्नं सतीक्ष्णं सहिर्मपानकं स्थान्निरत्ययम् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.389.

कपित्थबिल्वबदराक्षदाडिमचूतजैः

फलयूषं फलैरामै जीर्णीतीसारनाशनम् ।

Kasyapa. p. 250.46.

⁵ द्राक्षाखर्जूरकोलानां गुणविष्टम्भिपानकम्

परूपकाणां क्षौद्रस्य यच्चक्षुर्विकृतिं प्रति ।

Caraka. Su. 27.274.

⁶ कर्कण्डू बदराणां च प्रस्थं कुर्यात् सुकुट्टितम् ।

सप्रस्थं गालयन्तोये सप्त कृत्वः पुनः पुनः

मुष्णये तन्नवे भाण्डे स्वनुगुप्तं निधापयेत् ।

द्वे च दद्याद्गुडपले शर्करायाः पलं तथा ।

pānaka. It was given to a person who drank excessively.¹

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The authors of our medical works knew the value of cooking articles of food on a slow fire.² Besides the old preparations of cereals, meat, vegetables and fruit they describe some new dishes such as a soup from parched rice, preparations of boiled pulses, or sprouted grains. They also mention some condiments prepared from fruits and vegetables preserved in vinegar. No preparations could be considered good for health unless one knows the properties of various substances and the effect of mixing various substances. For this reason there is a detailed description of these in the medical works. They have a separate section for cooked articles and describe in detail which preparations are easily digestible and which are difficult to digest. Caraka says that spiced soups are more difficult to digest than unspiced ones.³ The same writer states that preparations fried in oil or clarified butter are difficult to digest while those parched without these fats are easily digestible.⁴

सूक्ष्मं च मरिचात्कर्षं चतुर्थकैसरस्य च
त्वक्पत्र भरणेद्वेच सूक्ष्मैलाकर्षमेव च।
अमृणालार्धकथंच सूक्ष्मचूर्णानि कारयेत्।
जातीरससमीपितं पानकं पानविभ्रमे।

Bhela. p. 218.

¹ To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāśmārya*, pomegranates, grapes, *madhūka*, and *parūṣaka* were mixed with the powder of *kuṣṭaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjiṣṭha*, *cardamom*, pepper and filament of blue lotus and water was added to the mixture.

काश्मर्यं दाडिमं ब्राक्षामधुकं सपरुषकम्
कुटुजानि च संक्षुद्य प्रसिपेत्तु जलाडके।
सूक्ष्मैला मधुकं लोध्रम् मञ्जिष्ठा पिप्पलीतथा
एतानि सूक्ष्म चूर्णानिदद्यात्पानं च युक्तितः।
कैसरं चाज्जदातव्यं पुष्पनीलोत्पलस्य च।
एतत्पानात्यये देयं तृषाच्छदिनिवारणम्।

Bhela. p. 219.

² मृदुपाकाश्च ये भक्ष्याः स्थूलाश्च कठिनाश्च ये।
गुरुवस्ते व्यतिक्रान्तपाकाः पुष्टिद्वलप्रदाः।

Caraka. Su. 27.270.

³ अकृतं कृतयूषं च तन् सांस्कारिकं रसम्।
सूपमम्लभनम्भं च गुहं विद्याद्यथोत्तरम्।

Caraka. Su. 27, 257.

⁴ सस्नेहाः स्नेहसिद्धाश्च भक्ष्या विविधलक्षणाः
गुरुवस्तर्पणा वृष्या हृद्या गोधूमिका मताः।

The kitchen was to be clean and uncongested, and cooks reliable. Clarified butter was served in a vessel of iron, beverages like meat soups in a silver vessel, fruits and sweets on leaves, seasoned and fried meat preparations in vessels of gold, all kinds of fruit preparations in vessels of stone, boiled milk in a copper vessel, water, syrups and intoxicating drinks in earthenware and *Rāga*, *Saffaka* and *Śāḍava* in vessels of glass or precious stones.¹

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the previous period the practice of offering food to gods, forefathers, dogs, crows and extending hospitality to guests was common. Just as in the *Manusmṛti*, children, daughter, newly married girls, pregnant women, guests and servants were fed before the householder and his wife took their meals.² The old practice of cooking a big ox or a big goat for a Vedic scholar is mentioned by *Yājñavalkya*.³ It is possible that the animals may have been let off after being presented to the distinguished guest for slaughter and not actually killed as was suggested in the *Asv. Gr. Su. I. 24-25*.

Purity in food is emphasised as before both in medical works and the *Smṛtis*. They lay down that the place where a person takes his meals should be clean. Food should be served in clean

संस्कारालक्षवः सन्ति भक्ष्याः गोधूम पैष्टिकाः ।
धानापर्यटपूपाद्यास्तान् बुद्ध्यानिदिशेत्बुधः ।

Caraka. Su. 27, 266-67.

Susruta. Su. 46.446.

¹ वक्ष्याम्यतः परं कृत्स्नामाहारस्योपकल्पनाम्
धृतं कार्णावसे देयं पेया देवातु राजते ॥४४६॥
फलानि सर्वभक्ष्यांश्च प्रदद्याद्दलेषु तु
परिशुष्कप्रदिग्धानि सौवर्ण्येषु प्रकल्पयेत् ॥४५०॥
प्रव्राणि रसांश्चैव राजतेपूपाहारयेत् ।
कट्वराणि खडांश्चैव सर्वाञ्छैलेषु दापयेत् ॥४५१॥
दद्यात्ताम्रमये पात्रे सुशीतं सुशृतं पयः ।
पानीयं पानकं मद्यं मून्मयेषु प्रदापयेत् ॥४५२॥
काचस्कटिकपात्रेषु शीतलेषु शुभेषु च ।
दद्याद् वैदूर्यचिन्मेषु रागपाडवसट्टकान् ॥४५३॥

Susruta. Su. 46 and 450-453.

² *Vishnu. Dh. Su. LXVII, Yajna. V 102, 105, 108, 111.*

³ महोक्षं वा महाजं वा श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेत् सत्क्रियान्वासनं स्वादुभोजनं सूनृतं वचः ।
Yaj. I, 109.

utensils by clean servants.¹ The Smṛtis lay down almost all those rules which Manu has laid for avoiding food having impure substances or offered by undesirable persons. But the list has been amplified, in this period, by the addition of a person who does not perform a sacrifice, a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a eunuch, a person who charges a very high rate of interest.² Of the Sūdras the food offered by a family servant, a cowherd, a family friend, and a family barber could be accepted. Food articles fried in clarified butter could be eaten even if they were kept overnight. Preparations of wheat, barley, or milk could be eaten even if they were not cooked in clarified butter.³

¹ तस्मात्काले सात्त्व्यं मात्रावदुष्णं स्निग्धमविरोधि शुचौदेशे शुचिषु पात्रेषुशुचिपरिचरेणोपनीतं प्राङ्मुखस्तूर्णोस्तन्मना आस्वादयन्नातिद्रुतं नातिविलम्बितं नात्युष्णं नातिशीतं नातिरूक्षं, नातिस्निग्धं, नातिबहु नातिस्तोकं नातिद्रवम् नातिशुष्कम् नाकाक्षितो न प्रतान्तो नैकरसं वाऽरोम्यायुर्वलार्थं समश्नीयात् ।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3.

C.f.

उष्णमश्नीयात्, स्निग्धमश्नीयात्, मात्रावदश्नीयात् जीर्णंश्नीयात्, वीर्याविरुद्धमश्नीयात् इष्टेदेशे इष्टसर्वोपकरणं चाश्नीयात् नातिद्रुतमश्नीयात्, नातिविलम्बितमश्नीयात्, अजल्पन्न-हसन् तन्मना भुञ्जीत । आत्मानमभिसमीक्ष्य भुञ्जीत सम्यक् ।

Caraka. Vimana. I. 30.

² अग्निहीनस्य नाश्रमद्यादनापदि । १६०

कदर्यवद्वचोराणां क्लीवरंगावतारिणाम् ।

वैष्णमिशस्त भार्गव्य गणिका गणदीक्षिणाम् । १६१

षिकित्सकालुरकुडपुंश्चलीमत्त विद्विषाम् ।

क्रूरोऽप पतित ब्राह्म्य दाम्भिकोच्छिष्टभोजिनाम् । १६२

अवीरस्त्री स्वर्णकार स्त्रीजित ग्रामयाजिनाम् ।

शस्त्रविक्रय कर्मार तन्तुवाय श्ववृत्तिनाम् । १६३

नृशंसराज रजक कृतघ्न वधजीविनाम् ।

शैल धाव सुराजीव सहोपपति वेश्मनाम् । १६४

एषामन्नं न भोक्तव्यम् सोमविक्रयिणस्तथा ।

गोघ्रातं शकुनोच्छिष्टं पदास्पृष्टं च कामतः । १६५

पिशुना नृतिनोश्चैव तथा चाक्रिक वन्दिनाम् ।

अनचितं दूधामांसं केशकीटसमन्वितम् । १६६

शुक्तं पर्युषितोच्छिष्टं श्वस्पृष्टं पतितेक्षितम् ।

उदकपास्पृष्टं संघुष्टं पर्यायान्नं च वर्जयेत् । १६७

Yaj. I. 160-167.

³ शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रावसूरिजः

भोज्याशानापितश्चैव यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् । १६८

अन्नं पर्युषितं भोज्यं स्नेहाक्ताभिरसंभूतम् ।

अस्नेहा अपि गोधूमयवगोरसविक्रियाः । १६९

Yaj. I. 168-169.

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra lays down that a person should not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun or when a cow, a Brāhmaṇa or a king meets with an accident,¹ nor must he eat bad food nor from a bad dish.²

The practice of washing hands and feet and honouring food was common even in this period.³ It is also laid down that a person should never revile food served to him.⁴ Generally, people took two principal meals and it was considered improper to take a third meal. It is also laid down that a person should avoid the evening meal if he had satiated himself during the day,⁵ and that a person should take a meal only when he felt hungry.⁶ One should never take too much food nor should he be keen to eat the food of others unless invited to do so with respect.⁷ There is a general rule that a person should divide his stomach into four parts. He should fill half the stomach with solid food, one fourth with liquid food and one fourth part he should leave empty for the movement of wind.⁸

Another important rule laid down by our medical works is that food articles should change according to seasons. For winter flesh of certain animals, intoxicating drinks prepared from molasses, preparations of milk, animal fats and new rice are allow-

¹ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 1-5.

² Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 49.

³ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 34-35.

⁴ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 62.

कृताग्निं कार्यो भूञ्जीत वाग्यतो गुर्वनुज्ञया।

आपोऽनानक्रियापूर्वं सत्कृत्यान्नमकुत्सयन्।

Yaj. I. 31.

⁵ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 48.

कालेऽन्नतोऽन्नं स्वदते तुष्टिः पुष्टिश्च वर्धते।

सुखेन जीर्यते न स्पृः प्रतान्ताजीर्णजागवाः।

Kaśyapa. Khila. V. 11.

⁶ Caraka. Viṃśana. I. 30.

⁷ परपाकश्विनंस्यादनिन्द्यामन्त्रणादृते

वाक्पाणिपादचापस्यं वर्जयेच्चातिभोजनम्।

Yaj. I. 112.

मात्राशीत्यात्। आहार मात्रा पुनरग्निबलापेक्षिणी। यावद्यस्याशनमक्षितमनुपहृत्य प्रकृतिं यथाकालं जरां गच्छेदिति तावदस्य मात्राप्रमाणं वेदितव्यं भवति।

Caraka. Su. V. 2.

⁸ भागवद्विहितान्नस्य तृतीयमुदकस्य च। १५३

वायोः संचरणार्थं च चतुर्थमवशेषयेत्। १५४

Kaśyapa. Khila. V. 53-54.

ed as these things are considered difficult to digest and could be eaten in winter when the digestive system is good. All easily digestive articles are not recommended. In summer all these articles are prohibited and easily digestible articles, such as groats with sugar and water, flesh of wild beasts, milk, clarified butter, and rice could be used. Only a little quantity of diluted liquor is recommended.¹

The medical works also give a list of those articles which they consider easily digestible and which could be used daily and a list of those which should not be used daily. *Ṣaṣṭika* rice, *śāli* rice, *mudga*, rock salt, *āmālaka*, barley, rain water, milk, clarified butter, meat of wild animals and honey could be used daily while preparations of rice meal, rice, *prthuka*, seasoned meat, dry vegetables, tubers and stalks of lotus, and meat of diseased animals were to be avoided. Preparations of inspissated milk, flesh of a pig, cow, a buffalo, fish, curds, barley and *māṣa* should not be used daily.²

¹ In the winter season :—

तस्मात् पारसमयेस्निग्धाम्ललवणान्नसन्
औदकानूपमांसानि मध्यानामुपयोजयेत् । ११
बिलेशयानां मांसानि प्रसह्यानां भूतानि च ।
भक्षयेन्मदिरां सीधूं मधु चानुपिवेन्नरः । १२
गौरसानि शुबिकृत्तीवसां तैलं नवीदनम् ।
हेमन्ते म्यस्यतस्तोयमुष्णं चायुर्न हीयते । १३
वर्जयेदन्नपानानि लघूनि वातलानि च ।
प्रवातं प्रमिताहारमुदमन्थं हिमागमे । १७

In the summer season :—

शीतं सशर्करं मन्थं जाङ्गलान्मृगपक्षिणः ।
घृतं पयः सशाल्यन्नं भजन्प्रीप्ते न सीदति । २८
मद्यमल्पं न वा पेयमयवासुबहूदकम् ।
लवणाम्ल कटूष्णानि व्यायामं चात्र वर्जयेत् । २९

Caraka, Su, VI.

² घटिकाञ्जलिमुद्गांश्च सैन्धवामलके यवान्
आन्तरिक्षं पयः सपिर्जाङ्गलं मधुचाम्यसेत्

Caraka Su, V. 9.

गुह पिष्टमयं तस्मात् तण्डुलान् पृथुकानपि ।
न जातु भुक्तवान् लाघेन् मात्रां खादेद् बुभुक्षितः । ६।
बल्लूरं शुष्कशाकानि शालुकानि विसृज्य च ।
नाम्यसेद् गौरवान्मांसं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत् । ७।
कृषिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शीकरं गव्यं माहिषं ।
मत्स्यान्मदधि च माषांश्च यवकांश्च न शीलयेत् । ८।

Caraka Su, V. 6-8.

Some other rules are laid down to facilitate digestion. A person should take only that food which suits his temperament. The medical works have, therefore, given a list of food preparations which suit the people of different parts of India.¹ The food taken should be warm, should have some fats, should be nourishing. It should be taken silently, slowly and attentively. The food articles taken should vary, the same dishes should not always be taken.² They have also mentioned preparations which should not be taken together. It is laid down that fish or other meat preparations should not be taken with milk.³ The order of dishes is also mentioned. A person should first take sweet dishes, then acidic, then saltish, then pungent and the rest afterwards. Fruits such as pomegranates should be taken in the beginning, then beverages, then food articles such as boiled rice and confectionery. Lotus stalks, roots and tubers should

पुराणशालयो मुद्गावशासतिष्ठिरि लावुकाः।

एवं प्रकार यन्वान्यत् तद् द्रव्यं लघु संस्कृतम्।

Bhela. p. 4.

तद्भुतान् पृथुकांश्चापि सर्वान् पिष्टमयांस्तिलान्।

न खादेद् भुक्तवान् जन्तुः मात्रां खादेद् बुभुक्षितः।

Bhela. p. 12.

¹ See F. D. A. I. p. 161, f. n. 4 and p. 162, f. n. 1—6.

Caraka. Su. VI. 49. Susruta. Su. 46. 463-467.

² See F. D. A. I. p. 157, f. n. 1.

न चैक रसं तेवायां प्रसज्येत् कदाचन।

शाकावरात्र भूयिष्ठमम्लं च न समाचरेत्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 491.

³ भस्वस्विमिचिमीनाम कूले चरति वारिणः।

तं भस्व्यं वर्जयेदेकं दुग्धेनान्यास्तुभक्षयेत्।

.....
श्वानं वराहं शैकत्र पयसा विवर्जयेत्

वन्यमूलफलाहारं तद्विधेन विरुध्यते।

कपोतान् सर्पपै श्रृष्टान् पयसा न तु भक्षयेत्

Bhela. p. 21.

C.f. Caraka. Su. 26 106-122.

विरुद्धं पयसा भस्वा यथा वा गुडमूलकम्।

स्यादजीर्णशिनं नाम व्युष्टाजीर्णं चतुर्विधे। ६१।

तथैवात्यशनं ज्ञेयमतिमात्रोपयोगतः।

स....तान्यामयोत्पत्ती मूलहेतुं प्रचक्षते। ६२।

Kasyapa. Khila V. 61-62.

never be taken at the end of meals.¹

The food suitable for different stages is mentioned in the Dharma Sāstras as before. A student was not permitted to take only one foodgrain for he might get very fond of it nor was he to take meat, wine, vinegar or leavings of food.² The general rules for the householders were the same as in the previous period but the Jains avoided the use of wine, flesh and honey, green ginger, butter, curds and flowers because they contained many germs.³ An ascetic is permitted eight mouthfuls every day⁴ of such food stuffs as leaves, fruits, flowers, vegetables and boiled barley. He is also advised to fast for one day, two days or three days⁵ and drink water strained in a piece of

- ¹ पूर्वं मधुरमदनीयान् मध्येऽम्ललवणी रसौ।४६०।
पद्माच्छेधान् रसान् वैद्योभोजनेष्ववधारयेत्।
आदौ फलानि भुञ्जीत दाडिमादीनि बुद्धिमान्।४६१।
ततः पेयांस्ततो भोज्यान् भक्ष्यांश्चित्रांस्ततः परम्।
घनं पूर्वं समदनीयात् केचिदाहुर्विपर्ययम्।४६२।
आदावन्ते च मध्ये च भोजनस्य तु क्षम्यते।
निरत्ययं दोषं हृदं फलेष्वात्मलकं नृणाम्।४६३।
मृचालवित्तं शालूककन्देषु प्रभृतीनि च।
पूर्वं योज्यानि भिषजा न तु भुक्ते कदाचन।४६४।

Susruta, Su. 46 460-464.

C.f.

स्निग्धं च पूर्वं मधुरं च भोज्यं मध्ये द्रवं शीतमथोविचित्रम्
तीक्ष्णोष्णं रुक्षाणि लघूनि पश्चाद् भोज्यान् पूर्वोत्तिलु सात्म्यतश्च

Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa, 34.

आदौ तु स्निग्धमधुरं विचित्रं मध्यतस्तथा।
रुक्षद्रवावसानं च भुञ्जानो नावसीदति।

Kasyapa, Khila. 5.52-53.

- ² ब्रह्मचर्यं स्थितौ नैकमन्नमद्यादनापदि
ब्राह्मणः काममदनीयाच्छ्राद्धे व्रतमपीडयन्।३२।
मधुमांसाञ्जनोच्छिष्टं शुक्तस्त्री प्राणिहिंसनम्।
भास्करालोकनास्त्रीलपरिवादाश्च वर्जयेत्।३३।

Yaj. I. 32-33.

C.f. Visnu, Dh. Su. XXVIII. 9-11, 33.

- ³ मद्यमांसं मधुत्यागं सहाशुव्रतपञ्चकम्
अष्टौ मूलगुणानाहुर्गृहिणां श्रमणोत्तमाः।६६।
व्रतहति परिहरणार्थं शीघ्रं भिक्षितं प्रमाद परिहृतये।
मद्यं च वर्जनीयं जिनचरणो शरणमुपयातः।८४।
अल्पं फलं बहु विधातान् मूलकमादिणि शुङ्गवेराणि।
नवनीतं निम्बं कुसुमं कैतकमित्येवमवहेयम्

Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra III.

⁴ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCIV. 13.

⁵ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCV. 6-12.

cloth.¹ But, a Jain monk was to practise fasting by degrees. First he was to give up solid food, then milk and whey and in the end even spiced water.²

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. A person should eat facing east or south. He should leave some solid food but eat up all the liquid substances such as curds, honey, clarified butter, milk, groats, meat or sweets. He must not eat in the open, nor with his wife, nor standing, nor in the presence of many hungry spectators. He should not eat in an empty house or in a temple. He should not drink water out of his joined hands.³ The practice of listening to sweet music and interesting stories while taking food, which is in accordance with the modern fashion, is also found in the *Kāśyapa Sāṃhitā*.⁴ The practice of chewing betel leaves after meals had, by then, become common.⁵ People generally took some beverage such as

¹ Visnu. Dh. Su. XCVI. 15.

² आहारं परिह्राप्य कमशः स्निग्धं विवर्धयेत् पानम्
स्निग्धं च ह्रापयित्वा खरपानं पूरयेत् कमशः ॥१२७॥
खरपानं ह्रापनामपि कृत्वा कृत्वोपवासमपि शक्त्वा।
पञ्चनमस्कारमनास्तनूं त्यजेत् सर्वयत्नेन ॥१२८॥

Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra VI.

Bardesanes, a Babylonian writer of C. 200 A.D. gives the following account of the lunch of Indian monks :—

'Prayer over, the bell is again rung and the attendants give each monk a bowl of food for two never eat out of the same dish. The bowl contains rice, but if any one wants a variety of food, vegetables and fruits are added.'

³ Visnu. Dh. Su. LXVIII. 40-47, Yaj. I. 138.

⁴ बीणावेणुस्वनोन्मिश्रं शीतं नाट्यविडम्बितम् ॥१५॥

विचित्राश्च कथाः शृण्वन् भुक्त्वा वर्धयते बलम् ॥१६॥

Kāśyapa Khila, V. 55-56.

⁵ जाती-कटुक-पूगानां लवङ्गस्य फलानि च।

कङ्कोलकफलं पत्रं ताम्बूलस्य शुभं तथा।

तथा कर्पूरं निर्यासः सूक्ष्मैलायाः फलानि च।

Caraka. Su. V. 75-76.

मद्यं पयस्तक्रमधोदधीनि येऽश्नन्ति वाराहमथापि मत्स्यान्।

ताम्बूलं पूगोन्मथिताश्च ये स्युः कालोन्मिता यस्य भवेज्जतुष्णा।

Kāśyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 39.

ताम्बूलपत्रं तीक्ष्णोष्णं कटुपित्तप्रकोपणम्।

सुगन्धिं विशदं तिक्तं स्वयं वातपित्तकफपहम्।

संसर्गं कटुकं पाके कषायं वृद्धिं दीपनम्।

वक्त्रकण्ठमूलकलेददोग्गन्ध्यादि विशोधनम्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 279-280.

cold or warm water, liquor, a decoction, watery soup, sour gruel or fruit juice. Anyone of these which suited a particular individual and aided his digestive system was used.¹

After drinking a beverage a long walk, a lengthy conversation, singing, sleeping and reading were avoided.² Some people used to smoke a cigar after their meals. The Caraka describes its preparation—a reed was smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices. Then it was dried and the reed removed.³ These practices are not met with in the earlier periods.

धूमेनापोह्य हृद्यैर्वा कषायकटुतिक्तैः
पूगकङ्गोलकर्पूरलवङ्गसुमनः फलैः।
फलैः कटु कषायैर्वा मुख वैशद्य कारकैः।
ताम्बूलपत्रसहितैः सुगन्धैर्वा विचक्षणैः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 485-486.

Also see Appendix III.

¹ शीतोष्णतोयासवमद्य यूप फलाम्ल धान्याम्ल पयोरसानाम्।
यस्यानुपानं तु हितं भवेच्चतस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयातत्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 420.

These after potions consisted of cool water, warm water, *Asava*, some intoxicating drinks, soups of cereals, fruit juices, sour gruel, milk, or meat soup. These were taken in accordance with a man's temperament and the food articles he had taken.

² भुक्तवाराजवदासीत यावदन्नवलमोगतः।
ततः पादशतं गत्वा वामपाश्वेन संविशेत्।
शब्दान् रूपान् रसान् गन्धान् स्पर्शाश्चमनसः प्रियान्
भुक्तानुपसेवेत तेनान्नं साधु तिष्ठति।

Susruta. 46. 487-488.

शयनं चासनं वाऽपि नोच्छेद्यापि श्रयोत्तरम्।
नाग्न्यातपी न प्लवनं न यानं नापि बाहनम्।

Susruta. 46 490.

³ हरेणुकां प्रियङ्गुच पृथ्वीकां केशरं नलम्।
हृदीवेरं चन्दनं पत्रं त्वगेलोशीरं पद्मकम्।
ध्यामकं मधुकं मांसीं गुग्गुलुगुरुशर्करम्।
न्यग्रोधोदुम्बरास्वत्पल्लवलोध्रत्वचःशुभाः।
वन्यं सर्जरसं मुस्तं शैलेयं कमलोत्पले।
श्रीवेष्टकं शल्लकीं शुक्रबर्हमथापिच।
पिष्ट्वा लिम्पेच्छरेणीकां तां बर्ति यवसन्निभाम्।
अङ्गुष्ठं सन्निभं कुयदिष्टाङ्गुलं समाभिषक्
शुष्कां निगभी तां बर्ति धूमनेत्रार्पितं नरः।
स्नेहाक्तामग्निं संप्लुष्टां पिबेत् प्रायोगिकीं सुशाम्।

Caraka. Su. V. 18-23.

Please also see Appendix IV and F. D. A. I. p. 197, f. n. 1, 3.

Taboos against the use of meat of unclean animals or unsanctified meat, onions, mushrooms, garlic, *sigru*, red exudation of trees, and other plants and vegetable growing on unclean ground are met with in the Dharmaśāstras of this period as in those of the earlier period.¹ In a Śrāddha even preparations of *Rājamaṣa*, *Masūra*, stale food and factitious salt were not to be served. Viṣṇu also prohibits the use of pepper, the onions called *mukundaka*, *Bhāstrya* (a pot herb), *sigru*, mustard seeds, *Nirguṇḍi*, the fruit or leaves of *Sāl* tree, *suvarcalā*, *kaṣmāṇḍa*, the bottle gourd, the egg plant, *pālakeya*, *upodakē*, *Tandulīyaka*, safflower, *piṇḍāluka* and the milk of buffaloes.² But the medical works prescribe the use of the flesh of all animals and vegetables including garlic when they regard it as useful for a patient. The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā has a separate section which deals with various uses of garlic and its juice is considered as effective as nectar itself.³ The use of some fragrant substances such as cloves, camphor, *kakkeṣa*, *jātiphala*, with betel leaves is prescribed to do away with its foul smell.⁴

¹ पलाण्डुं विद्धि बराहं च छात्राकं ग्रामकुलकुटुम्बम् ।
लघुनां गृज्जनं चैव जग्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।
भक्ष्याः पञ्चनखाः सेधारीषा कच्छप शलकाः ।
शशश्च मत्स्येष्वपि हि सिंहलुण्डकरोहिताः ।
तथा पाठीन राजीव सशल्काश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
अतः शुण्ठ्यं मांसस्य विधिं भक्षणवर्जिते ।

.....
वसेत्स नरके घोरे विनामि पशुरोमभिः ।
समितानि दुराचारे यो हन्त्यविधिना पशून् ।

देवतार्थं हविः शिष्टं लोहितान् ब्रश्चनांस्तथा ।
अनूपाकृतमांसानि विद्वजानि कवकानि च ।

Yaj. I. 176-180.

² Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 17-18.

राजमाषमसूरपर्युषितकृतलवणानि च ।

Yaj. I. 171.

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 18.

³ अमृतोद्भूतममृतं लघुनानां रसायनम् ।
दन्तमांसनखदन्तकुक्षवर्णवयोवलम् ।
न जातु भ्रश्यते जातं नृणां लघुनलादिनाम् ।
न पतन्ति स्तनाः स्त्रीणां नित्यं लघुनसेवनात् ।
न रूषं भ्रश्यते चासां न प्रजा न वलायुषीषां
सोभाग्यं वर्धते चासां दृढं भवति योवनम् ।

Kasyapa. Lasunakalpa. 18-20.

⁴ ततः कलायचूर्णेन हस्तमुष्णोदकेन च ।
प्रक्षाल्य मुखं मोठीच गुह्यं प्रावरणोऽग्निमान् ।
हाम्बूलपत्रं सस्वाकं ? सजाती कटुकफलम् ।
ध्वजपुष्पकपूरकक्कोलकफलान्वितम् ।

Kasyapa Lasunakalpa. 52-53.

Feasts were given, as before, at the time of a Śrāddha or other sacrifices. In a Śrāddha the Brāhmaṇas were invited on the previous day.¹ The practice of offering meat preparations is considered better than milk preparations or vegetarian dishes, at a Śrāddha.² Unhusked or well husked boiled rice, rice cooked with sesamum, preparation of meat and fish, intoxicating drinks, radish, cakes, rice with curds, milk rice, rice mixed with treacle and *modakas* were served at the time of worship of the god Vināyaka.³

We can also have some idea of the food habits of the people in various parts of India. People in the north-west liked such substances as butter milk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates, rock salt, tender leaves of *Bhūstṛṇa*, the juice of *Triphṭ*, *Vāsaka*, *Kāraṇṭa*, *Kuṭbera* and *Mātu-linga* (citrus medica). Other food articles used by them were groats mixed with ginger, clarified butter, *Śāḍavas*, *rāga*, soups, and beverages including intoxicating drinks.⁴ Bhela says that

¹ निमन्त्रयेत् पूर्वेषु ब्राह्मणानात्मवान् शुचिः।
तैश्वापि संयतै र्भवं मनो वाक् काम कर्मभिः।

Yaj. I. 225-226.

² हविष्याग्नेन वैभासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्
मास्त्व हारिण कौरभ्र शाकुनच्छाग पार्थतैः।
ऐण रौरव वाराह शाश्वमसैर्यथा क्रमम्।
मासं बृद्धयाऽभितृप्यन्ति वत्सरिह पितामहाः।
खज्जामिषं महाशालकं मधुमुन्यन्नमेव च।
लोहामिषं कालशाकं मांसं वार्ध्वाणिसस्य च। २५६
यद्दाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते।

Yaj. I. 257-260.

Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXX.

The Visnu. Dh. Sa. provides that vessels in which the food is served in a Śrāddha should be metallic, preferably made of silver.

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 14-15.

³ कृताकृतास्तण्डुलाश्च पल्लौदनमेव च।
मत्स्यान् पक्वास्तथैवामान् मांसं मेतावदेव तु।
पुष्पं चित्रं सुगन्धं च सुरां च विविधामपि।
मूलकं पूरिकापूपास्तथैवोण्डेरकं खजम्।
दध्यन्नपायसं चैव गुडमिश्रं समोदकम्।

Yaj. I. 286-288.

तिल पिष्टमिश्रभोदनः पल्लौदनः। भृष्टालोपिकाः पूरिकाः। क्षुद्रापूपास्तूण्डेरकाः।

Aparārka, on Yaj. I. 286-288.

⁴ तर्कं शुक्तं दधि मस्तुर्गुडं च द्राक्षाः मुख्याः सुकृताः सक्तवश्च।
शीतं हितं दाडिम वारि चार्यं स्वास्त्रैर्धनं भूस्तृणपल्लवाश्च।

they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquors.¹ The residents of *Vābhika* country generally used spiced warm food, liquid meat preparation² and beverages such as sour gruel and wines, while those of *Kāmbhoja* were fond of preparations of *masūra*, barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddāla* variety of rice.³ The people of the *Sindhu* country were fond of milk.⁴ The people of the east liked fish, *Sāli* rice, oils, and pungent spices.⁵ The people in the south were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *kaṅgu*, *āḍbaka*, barley, gram and pea, and roots, tubers and some beverages.⁶ These people liked fish from the river and the sea.⁷ Sour rice gruel is recommended for sea faring men.⁸

तानि त्रिवृद् वासक कारवन्ताद् रसः कुठेरादि समातुलिङ्गात् ।
स्यादाद्रकः सक्तवश्च सौर्वरिष्ठं लघवः पादवाश्च ।
भक्ष्याश्च मृक्ष्यालघवः सुपक्वाः सूपारागाः पानकं मद्ययोगाः ।
अतोयुगाद्युक्तिमवेक्ष्यकुयात् सात्त्व्यादवधारिमयोविधिनाः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 46-4.

¹ प्रतीच्याः मांसकामाः सुराकामाः

Bhela. p. 22.

² बाल्लिका तीक्ष्णोष्णानि अन्नानि, अभिव्यन्दीनि मांसानि, पानकान्यौदकानि च ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Vābhika=Bactria

³ कम्भोजाः मसूरयवगोधूमसिलकोद्दालसेविनः ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Kāmbhoja=region to the east of Kafiristan.

⁴ Caraka. Cikitsa. 30, 317.

⁵ काशीगुष्ट्राङ्गकवङ्गकाचान् ससागरानूपक कौसलेयान् ।

पूर्वं समुद्रं च समाश्रिताये किरातदेस्यानपिपूर्वं शैलान् ।

शाकैः समत्स्यामिष शालि तैलैर्द्रव्यैश्च तीक्ष्णैः समुपक्रमेत ।

Pundra—Between Monghyr and Vaṅga.

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa. 49-50

C.f. Caraka. Cikitsa 30, 317.

प्राच्याः मत्स्याश्च भोजिनो नित्यम् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁶ कलिङ्गकान् पट्टनवासिनश्च सदशिणान् वापि च नामदेयान् ।

उच्चावचद्रव्यगुणान्विताभिः पेयाभिरेतान् समुपक्रमेत ।

तैलानि कङ्गवाढकी यावकाश्च मूत्रानि कन्दाश्चणवाः कलायाः ।

एतानि सात्त्व्यानि भवन्ति तेषां पेयास्तथोष्णाः परिसिद्धिकाश्च ।

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa 51-52.

Pattanavasina—Inhabitants of Masūlipattana and Viśākhāpattana.

Narmadeya—People of Narmadā valley.

⁷ नदीतीरगतान् मत्स्यान् भक्षयन्ति समुद्रजान् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁸ समुद्रमाश्रितानाञ्च जनानां सात्त्व्यमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45 216.

It appears that the rich always used meat preparations and intoxicating drinks as they are invariably prescribed with vegetarian dishes in the medical works for patients.¹ The Jains were so particular about Ahimsā that they even avoided all uncooked roots, fruits, leaves, branches, tubers, flowers and seeds in which there was the least possibility of the existence of any living being. For the same reason they did not take their meals at night.²

To conclude, we may say that during this period the food habits of Indians were considerably changed as a result of the influx of foreign elements in society. The authors of medical works made a scientific study of all the food articles then available. So many varieties of rice, fruits and vegetables are not mentioned in any earlier work. Suitable diet for different seasons and people residing in different parts of the country was prescribed. Many new preparations of rice and wheat flour came into use. Tasty soups were prepared not only with pulses but also with fruits and vegetables which were available in abundance. Rules about purity of food appear to have been tightened by the authors of the Smṛtis, but people in the north-western region probably attached little importance to them. They had no objection to taking tabooed articles such as onions and garlic, meat preparations and intoxicating drinks of all kinds were very popular with them. Some new practices such as listening to sweet music at the time of meals are met with in the higher stratum of society and betel chewing seems to have become a common practice throughout the country.

¹ कुक्कुटाश्चमयूराश्च तित्तिरिक्कौञ्चवर्तकाः ।
 शालयो मविरा सपि वातगुल्मभिदग् जितम् ।
 हितमुष्णं द्रव स्निग्धं भोजनं वातगुल्मनाम् ।
 समण्डवारुणीपानं पक्वं वाधान्यकैर्जलम् ।

Caraka. Cikitsa. V.

² मूलफलशाकशालाकरीरकन्दप्रसूनबीजानि ।
 नामानि योत्ति सोऽयं रचित्त विरतो दया मूर्तिः ।
 अन्नं पानं स्नात्वं लेह्यं नाश्नाति यो विभावयाम् ।
 स च रात्रिभुक्ति विरतः सत्वेष्वनुकम्पमानमनाः ।

Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvākācāra VII. 141-42.

CHAPTER VI FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 300 A.D. To C. 750 A.D.)

The period C. 300 A.D. to C. 750 A.D. was an era of great prosperity in India. The earliest source of information is the *Aṅgavijjā* which gives a long list of vegetarian preparations in the beginning of the Gupta period. Some information about the food habits of the people can be gleaned from the works of Kālidāsa, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. But the first connected account that we have of food during the period comes from Chinese travellers Fahien, Yuan Chwang and Itsing. The medical works of this period the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* and the Bower Mss. repeat a good many details given in the medical works of the earlier period but provide some additional information. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw some light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period.

Food has generally been classified into the four traditional categories¹ but the Chinese travellers divide it into five solid foods, roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmāṣa*, groats, meat and cakes.² A number of varieties of rice are mentioned³ but the *Kalama* variety of *Sālī*

¹ *Aṅgavijjā*, p. 178, *Viṣṇu*, 74.31.

² Itsing, p. 43.

C.f. अथ तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे द्वितीयेऽर्धभागे विविधस्य खादनीय भोजनीयस्य वर्ष प्रवर्षति। इदमेवं रूपं भोजनम् ओदनसक्तवः कुलमाप मत्स्य मांसम्, इदमेवं रूपं खादनीयम् स्कन्ध खादनीयम्, पत्र खादनीयम्, पुष्प खादनीयम्, फलखादनीयम्, तिल खादनीयम्, खण्डशर्करा गुड खादनीयम् पिष्ट खादनीयम्।

Div. 297. 10-14.

³ The *Ast. Sam.* VII. 3-12 mentions the following varieties of *Sālī rice*: Raktaśālī, mahāśālī, kalama, tūrṇaka, śakunāhṛta, sārāmukha, dīrghaśūka, rodhraśūka, sugandhaka, puṇḍra, puṇḍarika, pramoda, gaura, sārīvā, kāñcana, mahiṣaśūka, dūṣaka, kusumāṇḍaka, lāṅgala, lohavāla, kardama, śītabhīruka patāṅga and tapāñya.

Other varieties of rice described are:

Ṣaṣṭika, mahāvrihi, kṛṣṇavrihi, jātumukha, kukkuṭaṇḍaka, lāvaḥa, pāṇvataḥa, sūkara, varaka, uddālaka, ujjala, cīna, śārada, dardura, gandhana, kuruvṇḍa, yavaka, hāyana, pāṇsu, vāpya and naiṣadhaka.

rice, which was grown in Bengal and was transplanted to attain full growth, was largely used.¹ *Śaṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing,² and *Mahavrihi* variety, which was mostly grown in Magadha was offered to religious persons of distinction and to kings.³ The medical works regard the red variety of *Sāli* rice to be the best.⁴ Rice was taken with curds, milk, clarified butter, molasses or pulses such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and *Kulattha*.⁵ Milk rice was popular but some Brāhmaṇas like the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* were fond of rice with curds.⁶ Besides the old preparations

शालयः कलमाद्याश्च षष्टिकाद्याश्च पुंस्यमी।

Amar. II. 9.24.

C.f. Angv. p. 164, Ast. Hrd. VI.

¹ वज्रानुस्वाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्धतान्।

निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गाश्रोतान्तरेषुसः।

आपदपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम्।

फलैः संवर्धयामासुस्त्वातप्रतिरोपिताः।

Raghu. IV. 36-37.

C.F. Karpūramāñjarī I. 19, Kirata. IV Mrch. IV. p. 232.

² माषसूपसहितेन सर्पिषा षष्टिकौदनमदन्ति ये नराः।

क्षीरमप्यनुपिबन्ति तासु ते शर्वरीषु मदनो न क्षेरेते।

Brhat. 76.8.

षष्टिको व्रीहिषु श्रेष्ठो गौरश्चासितगौरतः।

Ast. Sam. VII. 10.

गुडौदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीरं षष्टिकम्

दध्मौदनं हविष्यपूर्णं मांसं चित्राक्षमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

From Śībara's commentary on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*. I. 3.1 it appears that parched *ṣaṣṭika* rice was eaten with milk and parched *sāli* rice was eaten with milk. Rice cooked with *mudga* pulse is also recommended.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 82.

⁴ शूकजेषु वरस्तत्र रक्तस्तृष्णात्रिदोषहा।

महांस्तस्यान् कलमस्तं चाप्यनु ततः परे।

Ast. Sam. VII. 7.

⁵ पायसो परमण्णंति दधितावो विलेपिको

दधिकूर बुद्धकूर घतसासवकूरको।१३६।

गुलकूरको तिवा बूया अथवा पत्तकूरको।

कुलत्थकूरको वत्ति मुग्गमासोदणोत्तिवा।१३७।

अतिकूर तेल्लकूरत्ति भूतकूरत्तिवावदे।

जस्स घणस्स जो मिस्सा तण्णामो कूर एवसो।१३८।

Angv. p. 64.

सदध्ना कलमोदनेन प्रलोभिता न भक्षयन्ति वायसा बलि सुभारसस्य सवर्णतया।

Mrch. Act IV, p. 181. Calcutta 1938

C.f. Ragh. IX. 42, IV. 37, Kumar. V. 47. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

⁶ दधिभक्त पूरितोदरो ब्राह्मण इव।

Mrch. IV, p. 241.

of rice a new one was *utkārīkā*. A variety of this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac.¹ Itsing prescribes boiled rice and well boiled lentil water for a convalescent person.² Rice was the staple food of the people in the south.³ The foresters used some inferior varieties of rice such as *kaṅgu*, *nivāra*, *kodrava* and *śyāmāka*.⁴ People also seem to be fond of eating sweet parched rice.⁵

Two varieties of barley, one superior and the other inferior⁶ and two those of wheat called *Nandimukhi* and *Madhulikā* were used. Itsing noted that wheat was abundant in the western

¹ *Śaṅkūṭi*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Prthuka—Vayu. 80.47, *Āsma*. II. 9.47.

Kṛsara—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

तिलाश्वगन्धा कपिकच्छ मूलैर्विदारिकाषष्टिकपिष्ट योगः।

आजेन पिष्टः पयसा धूतेन पक्वं भवेच्छकुलिकातिवृष्या।

Brhat. Sam. 76.9.

C.f. Div. 500.23.

Cooked rice from which water was not strained was called *Caru* (Śabara on Jaim. X. 1.42).

² Itsing. p. 135.

³ A history of South India p. 191, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.

⁴ नीवारीदनमण्डमुष्णमधुरं सद्यः प्रसूताः प्रिया।

Uttaracarits. IV.1.

प्रियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चाति शोभनाः।

Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.10.

सुपायन्नवा कोद्रवा जलं सली कर्हं सो पावए तत्थ माली।

सिरीखण्ड कप्पूर एसाई दिन्ना मुहात्तिदि पोप्फला जेणदिन्ना।

Bhavi. 20.3.

कङ्गु कोद्रव नीवार श्यामकादि हिमं लघु।

तृणधान्यं पवनकुल्लेखनं कफपित्तहृत्।

Ast. Hr. VI. 11-12.

The following inferior grains are mentioned in Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16:

Kaṅgu, kodrava, jūrṇāhva, garmūti, cūrṇapādikā, śyāmāka, toyaśyāmāka śibira, śiśira, dārunivāra, barukūbaraka, utkaṭa, madhulikā, śāntanu, saṇḍi, veṇuparṇi, praśāntikā, gavedhukā, aṇḍalaṇḍhitya, todaparni and mukundaka.

⁵ लाजान् मधुयुतान् दद्यात् सक्तून् शर्करयासह।

Kurma. XX.

C.f. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

लाजान् विषेण संयोज्य मधुनेति विलोभिता।

देवीतु काशीराजेन्द्रनिजधान रहोगतम्।

Kamandaka. VII. 52.

⁶ *Aṇḍyava* (inferior variety of barley) Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 19.

Veṇuyava (Bamboo seeds) were also used as an article of food. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 21.

parts of India,¹ but it is still mentioned among the inferior cereals by the authors of the medical works.² All the old preparations of barley and wheat were in use but *yavāgū* seems to be very popular.³ Some new preparations such as *vitānaka*, *polikā*, *iṣṭaka*, and *locikā* are mentioned.⁴ As before groats were taken

¹ *Nandimukhī* (thin and long variety of wheat)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 22.

Madhūlikā variety of wheat was considered more wholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16, Itsing. p. 45.

But the Vayu Purana (Ch. VIII. 153-54) mentions rice, barley, *māṣa*, wheat, *aṣu*, *sesamum*, *Priyaṅgu*, and *Kulattha* among the cultivated grains and *Syāmāka*, *nivāra*, *jartila*, *gavedbuka*, *kuruṇḍa*, *venuṣya* and *markiṭaka* among the uncultivated grains. *Udāra*, *koradūṣa*, *cīnaka*, *mudga*, *maṣūra*, *niṣpāva*, *āḍhaki*, gram and *ṣaṣa* were not regarded as sacred grains.

C.f.

व्रीहयश्च यवाश्चैव गोधूमा अणवस्तिलाः।

प्रियङ्गुवोत्तुवाराश्च कोरद्व्याः सचीनकाः। १२१।

माषा मुद्गा मसूराश्च निष्पावाः सकुलत्यकाः।

आढक्यश्चणकाश्चैव शण संतदशाः। १२२।

इत्येता ओषधीनां तु ग्राम्याणां जातयो मुने।

ओषध्वोपशियाश्चैव ग्राम्यारण्याचर्तुदश। १२३।

व्रीहयः सयवा माषा गोधूमा अणवस्तिलाः।

प्रियङ्गु सप्तमाद्येता अष्टमास्तु कुलत्यकाः। १२४।

श्यामाकास्त्वथ नीवारार्जतिताः सगवेधुकाः।

तथा वेणु यथाः प्रोक्तास्तद्वन् मर्कटका मुने। १२५।

ग्राम्यारण्यास्मृताद्येता ओषध्वश्चर्तुदश।

Visṇu. Pu. I. 6, 21-26.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 170 f. n. 4.

³ The Angv. (p. 181) mentions *yavāgū* mixed with clarified butter, oil or vinegar.

C.f. अञ्च रसकं यूषमम्लं यवागूं भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि चूतफलानि शुष्क-मांसं मातुलुङ्गचक्राणिसशर्कराणि च यथादेशसामर्थ्यं च चषकहस्तः पाययेत्।

Kāma. 174. 15-17.

Dhānāb—Kurma. II. 17, Amara. II. 9.47.

Saketa—The groats of jujube were also used. Ast. Sam. VII.

Karambha—Amara. II. 9.49, Vayu. 80.47.

Saṅgyāva—Kurma. II. 17.

Apūpa—Kurma. II. 17, Amar. II. 9.47.

For other preparations of wheat see F.D.A.I. p. 179.

⁴ *Vitānaka*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polikā—Ibid.

Purikā—Ibid.

Iṣṭaka—Vayu. 80.47.

भक्ष्यान्वक्ष्ये करम्भञ्च इष्टका घृतपूरका।

कुवारं मधु सपिच पयः पायसमेव च।

Vayu. 80.47.

Locikā—a kind of delicious sweet preparation.

Svastika—Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 94. See F.D.A.I. p. 137, f. n. 3.

in the liquid form as also when they were prepared in a thick consistency.¹ People often took groats with them when proceeding on a journey.² *Jūrṇāhva* (*Holcus Sorghum*) is also mentioned among the inferior foodgrains of this period.³ The use of pulses with clarified butter is recommended.⁴ Of all the pulses, *mudga*, especially the green variety, was considered the best.⁵ Daily use of *māṣa* is not considered good on medical grounds as it is difficult to digest.⁶ *Kulaththa* was widely used.⁷ Gram was also used for horses.⁸ The use of *Rājamāṣa*, *masūra*, *niṣpāva* and gram is interdicted in a *Srāddha* by the authors of the *Purāṇas*.⁹ *Mudga* was also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*) called *Pūraṇa*.¹⁰

¹ निचपात्कठिना गुर्वी प्रोक्ता पिण्डी मृदुलंशुः।

सक्तुनां द्रवता योगाल्लधीयस्यबलेहिता।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 61.

² Harṣacarita, p. 217.

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 170. f. n. 4. It is called *jūṣmāṣa* in *Tiloya paṇṇati*. See History of Jondhāla by Dr. P.K. Gode in B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I. p. 145-158.

⁴ मधुराः शीतला गुर्वी बलक्षयो रक्षणार्थिकाः।

स्नेहाद्या बलिभिर्मौज्या विविधाशिम्बिजातयः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 33-34.

⁵ सूप्यानामुत्तमा मुद्गा लघीयांसोज्य मास्ताः।

हरितास्तेष्वपिवराः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 26.

⁶ माषनिष्पाव शालूक विस पिष्ट विरुद्धकम्।

शुष्कशकानि यवकान् फणितं च न शीलयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 41.

⁷ कुलत्थतिल माषाग्न घृत तैलामिषोदनं।

बहिर्हित्तिर दक्षाणां रसैः सव्योषदादिभैः।

सहिगुविडमृद्धीकामातुलुङ्गरसार्द्रकैः।

कुलत्थदाडिमाज्जी शुष्कमूलक संयुतैः।

यव गोधूम शाल्यन्नं स्निग्धमुष्णं च भोजयेत्।

Bower. Mss. 2.14.

⁸ *Amarasimha* calls gram—the food of the horses (*harimanthaka*, II. 9-11). Rice cooked with gram is mentioned—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30.

⁹ द्वेष्याणि संप्रवक्ष्यामि श्राद्धे वर्ज्यानि यानि तु।

मसूरशनिष्पावराजमापकुसुम्भिकाः।

कोद्रवोदारचणकाः कपित्था मधुकालसीः।

Matsya. 15.36-38.

C.F. Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.11.

¹⁰ वेतवारो गृहः स्निग्धो बलोपचयवर्धनः।

मुद्गादिजास्तुगुरवो यथाब्रव्य गुणानुगाः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Pulses were used in saline preparations such as *yūṣas*, *maṇḍa* and *parpaṣas*.¹ Sprouted food grains were also used in food preparations.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India.³ Even in the South the Brāhmaṇas used to domesticate milk yielding cows.⁴ Milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics.⁵ Both Yuan Chwang and Itsing noted that milk and its products were available everywhere.⁶ Milk of cows was considered the best.⁷ Other animals, whose milk was used, were buffaloes, goats, elephants, sheep, mares, camels and women.⁸ Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest while fresh milk, which was still warm, was considered as wholesome as nectar itself.⁹ Milk rice continued

¹ *Yūṣa* (soup of pulses)—Kāma Sūtra. 174. 15-17, Bharata. III. 36-39, Angv. p. 179, Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Maṇḍa—juice of cereals was considered a light food.

नीवारोदनमण्डमुष्ण मधुरं सद्यः प्रसूताप्रिया।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

C.f. Amara. II. 9.49.

Parpaṣa—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki p. 88, Angv. p. 181, Raghu. II. 63, Kurma. 22, Vayu. 78.17, Visnu. III. 16.11.

⁴ A History of South India, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 190.

⁵ व्याध्याध्याध्वभाष्यस्त्रीलङ्घनालपकर्मभिः।

क्षीणे दृढे च बाले च पयः पय्यं यथा मृतम्।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 50.

C.f. Vāyu. 16.13.

⁶ Beal Vol. I, p. 88, Watters Vol. I. p. 178. Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च पयसः पयः।

यद्योत्तरं स्नेहहीनमौरभ्रच्छागमाहिषम्।

Khāraṇāda.

प्रायः पयोऽथ गव्यं तु जीवनीयं रसायनम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 54.

⁸ गव्यं माहिषमाजं च कारभं स्त्रैणमाविकम्।

ऐभमैकशफं चेति क्षीरमष्टविधं स्मृतम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 52-53.

C.f. Vāyu. 78.17.

⁹ भवेद्गरीयोत्तिष्ठतं धारोष्णममृतोपमम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 62.

C.f. Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 29.

to be popular¹ and beatings were avoided as before.² Curds were taken pure, with rice, with groats and with treacle.³ Curds when mixed with water in the ratio of 3 : 1 were called *Takra*, when they were mixed in equal quantities the mixture was called *Udāsvit* and curds churned without water were called *Mathita*.⁴ *Sikharipi* continued to be popular as before.⁵ A mixture of warm milk and curds, cream of curds and butter milk were also used.⁶

Fresh butter, butter prepared from the previous day's milk and clarified butter were widely used.⁷ Yuan Chwang states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the students at the University of Nālandā.⁸ Some people were excessively fond of butter. Urvaśī is said to have lived on butter alone.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 7.24.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VI, Amar. II. 9.54.

³ *Dadbi* (curds)—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 22, Matsya. 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Dadhisaktu (curds with groats)—Angv. 220.

Dadhyodana (rice mixed with curds)—Mrch. VII.

Gūḍadadbi (curds with treacle)—Angv. p. 220.

⁴ *Takra*—Matsya. 217, Vayu. 16.13, Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Udāsvit—Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Mathita—Amar. II. 9.53.

Trapīyam—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.51.

⁵ *Rasāla*—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.44, Vikramorvaśīya. p. 72 (III. 86).

⁶ तप्तेपयसि दध्यालयति सा वैश्वदेवी आमिक्षा वाजिन्यो वाजिनम् ।

Sabara on II. 2.23.

आमिक्षा साशृतोष्णे या क्षीरे स्यादधियोगतः ।

Amar. II. 7.23.

Dadhibara (cream of curds)

दधिशर परिलुब्धायाः मार्जारिकायाः ।

March. Act I. p. 47 Calcutta, 1938.

Dandābata (butter milk)—Amar. II. 9. 53.

⁷ *Navanita* (fresh butter) *Malavikagnimitra*. p. 57, Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.51, Matsya 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Haiyamgavāna (Butter of yesterday's milk)—Raghu. I. 4.5, Amar. II. 9.51.

Ghṛta—Angv. p. 182, Kurma. 22, Amar. II. 9.51, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ Beal. Si-yu-ki. Vol. I. p. 88.

⁹ घृतमात्रं तयाहारः ।

Clarified butter was considered a germicide¹ and a mixture of clarified butter and curds was also used as food.² Besides the milk products mentioned in the earlier period Vāgbhata I mentions *Kṣīrasāka*, *Dadhikūrcikā* and *Takrapīṇḍaka*.³

MEAT DIET

Side by side with vegetarian diet meat diet was also in vogue. A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned.⁴ A piece of meat being roasted on charcoal seems to be a common sight.⁵ At irregular hours a meal consisting of meat roasted on spits seems to be common among the Kṣatriyas.⁶ Meat and fish formed part of the daily diet of the royal families.⁷ Flesh of various animals was served to Brāhmaṇas at Srāddhas.⁸ The

¹ अन्नादिजानां सत्वानां रसजानां च सर्वशः
फल पुष्पोद्गतानां च घृतप्राप्तो विशोधनम्।

Matsya. 227.39.

² पृषदाज्यं सदध्याज्ये।

Amara. Vaisya.

Originally '*prṣadājya*' denoted a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. See Ch. II. p. 14, f. n. 5.

³ The solid part of curds when water has oozed out was called *Takra-pīṇḍaka*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 78-79, Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

Kṣīrasāka—Ibid.

Dadhikūrcikā—Ibid.

⁴ भवानपि सूनोपरि चरविहङ्गम इव ग्रामिणलोलपो।

Malavika. II. p. 36.

अयमपरः हतपशूदरपेशि धावति रूपिदारकः।

Mrch. IV. p. 237.

⁵ अङ्गारराशिपतितमिव मांसलण्डम्।

Mrch. p. 98.

⁶ अनियतवेले शूल्यमांसं भूयिष्ठमाहारोभुज्यते।

Sakuntala. II.

⁷ मांसेन तिक्ताम्लेन भक्तं शाकेन सूपेन समस्त्यकेन।

भुक्तं भवात्मनोहे शालिकूरेण गुडोदनेन।

Mrch. X. 29, p. 345.

अच्छरसकं सूयमम्लयवागुं भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि चूतफलानि शुष्कमांसं
..... पाययेत्।

Kamasutra. 174.15-17.

शीरशाल्यन्नभुक्स्यात् क्षीराग्न्या जांगलानां रसैर्वा हृद्यैर्युषैः।

Bower Mss. I. 24.

क्रोडकृष्णशारच्छागशावकप्रकटितपशुबन्धप्रबन्धानि।

Harsa. p. 45.

महानसोपकरणवाहिभिश्च बद्धबराहवाघाँणसैलेन्वमानहरिणचटुकचटकजूट जटिलैः
शिशुशशकशाकपत्रवेष्टाग्रसंघाहिभिः।

Harsa. VII. 211.

* Yau. 82, Matsya. 16, 17.29-36, Kurma. 20.

Kūrma Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a Śrāddha is born again and again as an animal.¹ Bṛhaspati lays down that only those women whose husbands are away should refrain from meat diet. It expressly permits meat eating in the case of sick persons.² In South India also meat dishes were popular in royal courts.³

Flesh of five toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapiñjala*, *vārābrīṇasa*, *dvīpī*, fish called *rājīve*, *simha-tuṇḍa*, *pāṭhina* and *robīta*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds was eaten.⁴ People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.⁵ In the middle country (*Madhyadeśa*) the peafowl was considered a delicacy,⁶ and artisans were beef eaters.⁷

Some uncivilized people relished meat diet. It is said that the strong smell of flesh made the people residing in the Vindhya region joyous.⁸ A Śabara youngman presented a partridge to Harṣa probably because they prized its flesh very much as an article of food.⁹

¹ योनाश्रुति द्विजो मांसम् नियुक्तः पितृकर्मणि।
सप्रेत्य पशुतां याति संभवानेकविंशतिम्।

Kurma. 22.

² Bṛhaspatismṛti. 25. 13. p. 194.

³ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁴ भक्ष्याः पञ्चनखा नित्यं मनुराह प्रजापतिः।
मत्स्यान् सखलान् भुञ्जीयान्मांसं रौरवेव च।
निषेद्यदेवताभ्यस्तु ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तु नान्यथा।
मयूरस्तित्तिरञ्चैव कपिञ्जलकमेव च।
वाध्रीणसन्दीपितञ्चैव भक्ष्यानाह प्रजापतिः।
राजीवान् सिंहतुण्डाश्च तथा पाठीनरोहिता।

Kurma. 22.

⁵ Beal Si-yu-ki. p. 89.

⁶ See Buddhaghōṣa's Sāratthappakāsaṇī, his commentary on Saṃhyutta Nikāya.

⁷ मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः। १२८।
मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः।
उत्तरे मद्यपा नार्यः स्पृष्ट्वा नृणां रजस्वलाः। १२९।

Bṛhaspati. Sm. I. 128-29.

⁸ उम्हाल कुसुल मुहुञ्चरन्त्यस्य फलसमेवगन्धाई।
आसार जडे दिवहेणदन्ति कुटुम्बि गेहाई।

Gaudavaho. 377.

⁹ Harsacarita, p. 232.

Meat cooked with rice, meat soup prepared with ghee or oil and some spices, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, seasoned meat, were all used.¹ Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as a stuffing.² A soup prepared with some meat and spices such as dry ginger was called *Dakalāvaṇika*.³ An acidic gruel cooked with meat and an extract of meat were also used as food articles.⁴

But there seems to have been a good deal of feeling among some sections of society against the slaughter of animals. Fahien states that killing of animals was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa. There were no butchers' shops in the markets. Only the Caṇḍālas sold flesh outside the city.⁵ It may have been that Fahien saw everything with Buddhist glasses. But the author of *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (prior to 443 A.D.) states that the Buddha himself declared all kinds of meat uneatable for many reasons.⁶ That the Buddhists of the period were against meat diet can be seen also from the example of Harṣa who prohibited

¹ *Piṭṭandana* or *māmsandana* (meat cooked with rice)—Matsya. 268, 6-30 C.f.

शालीनामोदनं भुक्त्वा शुचिमांसोपसेवितम् ।

भुञ्जानो शुल्ककुलमापान् कश्चिन्न परित्यजे ।

Div. 559.1.

Māmsarasa (meat soup)—Mrch. VIII. 14, X. 29, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 39-46 Amar. II. 9. 45.

Sūlyamāmsa (roasted on spits)—Śakuntala II., Amar. II. 9.45.

Angārārāṣi patita māmsa khaṇḍam—Mrch. p. 98

Ballāra or *śuṣka māmsa* (Seasoned meat)—Ang. 64, Kāmasūtra, 174.15.

² *Vesavāra* (stuffing)—Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa I.

निरस्त्रि पिशितं मांसं स्विन्नगुडघृतान्वितम् कृष्णा मरिच संयुक्तं वेसवारं तदुच्यते ।

³ *Dakalāvaṇika* (a kind of meat 'soup')—

स्वल्पेन मांसेन स्वल्पैश्च शुण्ठ्यादिभिः क्रियन्ते स्वच्छाः ते रसादयः दकलावणिकाः ।

⁴ *Amḷayavāgu* (acidic gruel)—Kama Sutra, 174.15.

Accbarasaka yūṣam (extract of meat)—Ibid.

⁵ Legge. p. 43.

⁶ The reasons given are :

1. The animal whose flesh is eaten may have been one's intimate relation.
2. Butchers sometimes bring flesh of unclean animals like dogs.
3. A non-vegetarian sees horrible dreams.
4. Flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female hence it is impure.
5. Meat eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning.
6. A meat eater is deprived of learning.
7. Meat eating is the characteristic of an *Anārya* (uncultured person).
8. The Buddhist teachings are looked down upon if Śramaṇas take meat diet. See A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX. parts III and IV.

taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease throughout the five Indies.¹

A considerable section of Hindu society at that time did not look on meat diet with approval. Even the *Kāmasūtra*, which does not represent the views of religious authorities, states that to desist from eating meat was considered an act of merit.² Bhavabhūti pokes fun at the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guest,³ and a copperplate inscription dated 465 A.D. clearly shows that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of a heinous crime.⁴ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the same strain declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals.⁵ Itsing also states that even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh.⁶

HONEY AND SWEETS

The four varieties of honey mentioned in the medical works of the earlier period continued to be used in the reception of guests and other festive rites.⁷ But all the products of sugarcane were widely used as sweetening ingredients in the food preparations.⁸ Of these *Sarkarā* was considered the best and

¹ Watters. Yuan Chwang Part. I. p. 344.

² प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसभक्षणदिभ्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः।

Kamasutra, p. 12.7.

³ येनागतेषु वसिष्ठमित्रेषु वत्सतरी विपसिता।

Uttara Carita. IV. 87.

⁴ तदेतत् प्रवृत्तम् य उच्छिन्ध्यात् सगोब्रह्महृत्यया संयुक्तोभवेत्।

C.I.I. III. p. 71.

⁵ श्रागमेन भवान् यज्ञं करोतु यदिहेच्छसि।

विधिदृष्टेन यज्ञेन धर्ममव्ययहेतुना।

यज्ञबीजः सुरश्रेष्ठ येषु हिंसा न विद्यते।

Vāyu. Pu. 37. 100.

C.f. Matsya. Pu. 143. 12-14.

⁶ Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ The four varieties of honey were:—

Bbrāmara, *pantika*, *kaṇḍra* and *mākṣika*—See Ch. V. p. 145, f. n. 6.

भ्रामरं पौत्तिकं क्षौद्रं माक्षिकं च यथोत्तरम्।

वरं जीर्णं च तेष्वन्ये द्वे एवह्युपयोजयेत्।

Ast. Sam. VI. 98.

Kumar. VI. 50, VII. 72, *Raghu.* XI 69, *Visnu.* III. 11.82, *Vāyu.* 79.

11-12, 105.34, *Kurma.* 22.

⁸ *Vāgbhāta* I mentions five varieties of sugarcane:—

Paṇḍraka, *vāṇṭika*, *śataparvaka*, *kāntāra* and *naipāla* and considers the juice extracted with the help of a machine unwholesome. *Ast. Sam.* Su. VI. 83-85.

C.f. *Ast. Hrd.* V. 44.

phāṇita the worst.¹ *Bāṇa* mentions two varieties of sugar, red and white.² Sugar was also prepared with a grass called *yavāsa*.³ Besides the old sweet⁴ preparations such as *madbulājā*, *kṛsara*, *modakas*, *utkārīkā*, *saṁyāva*, *pūpa*, *pbenaka*, *pāyasa*, *abhyūṣa* and *gudaudana*,⁵ some new preparations are mentioned. *Moreṇḍaka* was a kind of sweet prepared from inspissated milk. The solid part of it was formed into the shape of the eggs of a peacock, fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.⁶ *Vimardaka* was a preparation of groats and clarified butter.⁷ Other sweets mentioned are—*locikā*, *iṣṭaka*, *vitānaka*, and *polikā*. But as neither Sanskrit

Phāṇita—Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Guda—Angv. p. 181, Vayu. 105.34, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Matryaṇḍikā—Angv. p. 181, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 88, Malavika II. p. 42, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

Khaṇḍa—Ast. Sam. VI. 88, Vayu. 105.34.

Sarkarā—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 25, Amar. II. 9.43, Harsa. p. 156.

Sitā (sugarcandy)—Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

¹ शर्करेण विकाराणां फणितं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 98.

² *Pātala Sarkarā*—(red sugar).

Karka Sarkarā—White sugar—Harsacarita p. 156.

³ Ast. Hrd. V. 50.

⁴ *Gudavikāra* denotes all sweets prepared with *guda* (Rtusambhāra V. 16) and *Khaṇḍakāḍyaka*, those with unrefined sugar.

जलानुपानं वा खण्डलाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसात्म्यं युक्तमुभाबन्धुपदं ऋषीयाताम्।
Kamasutra. IV. 10.16.

⁵ *Madbulājā*—Kāmandaka VII. 52.

C.f. Kurma. 20.

Kṛsara—Matsya. 268. 6.30.

Modakas (sweet balls)—were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour mixed with sugar, some spices and slices of the kernel of cocoanuts.—Vikram. III. 65, 75. Angv. Mrch. V. 98, Malavika, p. 81, Śakuntala, p. 62, Matsya. 268. 6-30. Also see F.D.A.I. Ch. VI. p. 171.

Samyāva—Kurma II. 17.

Pūpa or *apūpa*—Mrch. V. 98, Amar. II. 47-48, Vayu. 80.48, Matsya. 268. 6-30, Kurma. II. 17.

Pbenaka—Angv. 182. Fine sweet cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour.

Pāyasa—Matsya. 268. 6-30, Raghu. X. 51, 54.

Ghṛtapūra—Vayu. 80.47.

Abhyūṣa—Amar. II. 9.47.

Gudaudana—Mrch. I. 8, Matsya. 268.6-30.

Utkārīkā was a sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter.

Angv. 182, Bharata. III. 36-39, Div. 500-23.

⁶ *Moreṇḍaka*—Angv. p. 182.

⁷ घृत सक्तुकाश्वितम् द्रव्यम् विमर्दकम्

Ast. Hrd. Uttara. 39.

dictionaries nor books on food and drinks enlighten us about the way they were prepared it is difficult to say much about them.¹

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the varieties of salts mentioned by Caraka were in use.² As before saline preparations were considered exciting hence ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid them.³ There does not seem to have been any great change in this respect. The common spices used for seasoning were dry ginger, cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida.⁴ Black pepper is

¹ *Locikā*—Bharata. III. 36-39.

Iṣṭaka

भक्ष्यान् वक्ष्ये करम्भञ्च इष्टका घृतपूरकाः।

Vayu. 80.47.

Vitānaka—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polikā—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

² *Kāmasūtra*. I. 4.38, IV. 1.28, *Brhat Sam.* 76.11, *Kurma.* 22, *Vayu.* 74 *Matsya* 217.60, *Raghu.* V. 73, *Angv.* p. 182, *Ast. Hrd. Su.* 12.

तथा लवणस्नेहयोश्च गन्धकटुकभाण्डौषधानां च दुर्लभानां भवनेषु प्रच्छन्नं निधानम्।

Kāmasūtra. IV. 1.28.

यस्मादन्नरसाः सर्वे नोत्कटा लवणविना।

प्रियं च शिवयोनित्यं तस्माच्छान्तिं प्रयच्छ मे।

Matsya. 84.7.

The *Matsya* (217.60) mentions following varieties of salts: *Sainābava*, *udbhid*, *pāthya*, *pākyā*, *sāmsudra*, *lomaka*, *kuṣṭha*, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa*, *vālakeya*, *yavābhava*, *aurvakpāra*, *kālabbasma*.

³ संगतयोस्त्रिरात्रमद्यः शय्या ब्रह्मचर्यं क्षारलवणवर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतुर्यमङ्गल-
स्नानं प्रसाधनम्।

Kama Sutra. 191.1.

अभोज्यानि यतीनाञ्च प्रत्यक्षलवणानि च।

Vayu. 18.20.

⁴ हिङ्गुज्ज्वला जीरकभद्रमुस्ता वचाया ग्रन्थिः सगुडा च शुण्ठीः।

एषा मया सेविता गन्धयुक्ति कथं नाहं मधुस्वर इति।

Mrch. VIII. 13.

जीरको जरणोज्जाली कणा कृष्णं तु जीरके, सुपवीकारवी पृथ्वी पृथुः कालोपकुञ्चिका।

Amar. II. 9. 36-37.

परिपूतेषु च हरितशक वप्रानिधुस्तम्बाञ्जीरक सर्पपाजमोद शतपुष्पा तमाल गुल्माश्च
कारयेत्।

Kāmasūtra. IV. 1.6.

साजमोदलवणाहरीतकी शृङ्गवेर सहिता च पिप्पली।

मद्यतक्रतलोष्णवारिभिर्वचूर्णं पानमुदरान्निदीपनम्।

Bhatsamhitā. 76.11.

C.f. *Matsya.* II. 9.36-38, *Kurma.* 20, *Vayu.* 74, *Raghu.* IV. 46, VI. 57, *Kumara.* VIII. 25.

called Dharmapattana in the Amarakośa, which shows that it was grown near Dharmapattana on the sea coast.¹ Asafoetida is called Bāhlika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.² The skin of *mātulinga* was used with betel leaves for perfuming the mouth.³

Many sauces and condiments were prepared and used. The most common were *kāmbalika*, *khaḍa*, *temana* and sour gruel. Two varieties of sour gruel, one in which husked cereals were used and the other in which unhusked cereals were used, are mentioned.⁴ Sour gruel seems to be a favourite article of food in *Kāñci*, *Avanti* and *Sauvira*.⁵ Jams and syrups prepared from fruits were also used as condiments with food.⁶ Vinegar was prepared as before, from *guḍa*, sugarcane juice, cereals, and grapes. Bulbs, roots, and fruits were preserved in it.⁷ A new preparation from oil cake, which was acidic in taste, was called *Srikukeṇa*. It was in common use in Mālava country.⁸ The Harṣacarita mentions a preparation of fragrant mango fruit. Camphor, cloves and some sweet smelling flowers such as *campaka* were also used in preparing it.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 9.36.

² Amar. II. 9.40.

³ मातुलुङ्गत्वचस्ताम्बूलानि च स्पृः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.8.

⁴ विविधं लवणं फलं हरितं शाकं तिक्तं कटुकाम्लोपदंशान् देव्याः पायवेष्टुः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Kāmbalika—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 7.

Khaḍa—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 6.

Temana—Amar. II. 9.44.

Vyañjana—(condiments) Kurma. 22.

Kāñjika—(sour gruel) Div. 496.5, Dharmavartā VI. 294. See F.D.A.I. p. 146, f. n. 7.

Tuṣṭodaka—sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.

Sauviraka—Sour gruel prepared with husked cereals.

⁵ आरुणालकं सौवीरं कुलमाद्यभिषुतानि च।

अवन्तिसोमं धान्याम्लं कुञ्जलानि च काञ्जिके।

Amar. II. 9.39.

Deśakumāracarita. VI.

Sauvira=Lower Sind.

⁶ *Khaṇḍava* (jams)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Rāga (syrups prepared from fruits) Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

⁷ Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

⁸ तिलसर्पपिप्प्याकजो मालवदेशः प्रसिद्धो अम्लखडकविशेषः

Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa 12.

⁹ Harṣacarita, p. 66.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

All the oilseeds mentioned in the earlier period were used for extracting oil.¹ But besides clarified butter, sesamum oil and mustard oil were in general use as frying mediums.² Oil was used in preparing boiled rice and gruel.³ The oil extracted from sesamum was considered the best and that from safflower the worst.⁴ Vāgbhaṭa II recommends the use of oil chiefly in the winter season.⁵ Oil cake was used as food by hermits but its use is forbidden in a Śrāddha.⁶ Many condiments were also prepared from it.⁷ Of the animal fats, fat of a goat is considered the best and that of an elephant the worst. Other animals, whose fat was used in food, were a fish called *anulūḥ*, a pig, a cock, and *Pākamaṃsa*.⁸

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Fruits, as before, formed a very important part of our diet.⁹ Yuan Chwang writes that in the region near Kashmir pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes were planted.¹⁰ Pomegranates and melons were grown everywhere.¹¹ He states that peaches and pears were introduced by the Chinese into India hence peaches

¹ Angv. p. 232, Div. 70.27, Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.9-11, Amar. II. 9.7-20, Sakuntala p. 94, Vayu. 5.9.

भोजनावशिष्टाद् गौरसात् सारग्रहणं तथातैलं गुडयोः..... कुट्टनावेक्षणं आचाम मण्डं तुप कुट्टयङ्गाराणामुपयोजनम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.33.

² *Tilataila* (sesamum oil)—Beal Si-yu-ki. I. 88, Ast. Sam. Su. IX. It was included in untimely (*vikāla*) food. Watters VIII. p. 282.

Sarṣapataila (mustard oil)—Itsing p. 44, Ast. Sam. Su. IX., Si-yu-ki. p. 88.

³ *Tailakṣīra* (boiled rice with oil)—Angv. p. 64.

Tailayanāgū (gruel with oil)—Angv. p. 181.

⁴ तिल तैलं वरं तेषु कौमुभमवरं परम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 111.

⁵ नवमसं वसं तैलम्।

Ast. Hrc. III. 13.

⁶ Vayu. 16.14., Kurma. 2.17.

⁷ *Tilapīnyākavikṛti*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ श्रीलुकी शौरी पाकहंसजा कुक्कुटोद्भवावसा श्रेष्ठा स्ववर्गेषु, कुम्भीर महिषोद्भवा काक मद्गुवसाततत् कारण्यतोया च निन्दिता। शास्त्राद् भेदसां छागं हास्तिनं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 113-114.

⁹ Angv. p. 64 and p. 231, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168-209, Watters. p. 277. Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 88., Itsing p. 45, Amar. II. 4.27-168. Vayu. 45-46.

¹⁰ Watters Vol. II, 277.

¹¹ Watters Vol. II, p. 277.

were called Chināni and pears were called China-rājaputra.¹

He himself used to receive one hundred and twenty *Jambīras* (citrus medica) every day.² Bread fruit and cocoanut were cultivated in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*).³ In the Ajanta paintings we can see mango, custard apple, a round fruit which looks like a *Bilva* fruit or a lemon and another fruit which looks like a brinjal.⁴ Of all the fruits, grapes were considered the best⁵ and *Lakuca* the worst.⁶

From the Vāyu Purāṇa we learn that the people of Hari-vamśa liked the juice of sugarcane, the people of Hiraṇvatavaṛṣa the juice of *Lakuca*, those of Ramaṇakavaṛṣa the juice of the fruit of *Nyagrodha*, those of Ilavṛtavaṛṣa of the juice of *jambū* fruit, those of Gandhamadana island the juice of bread fruit and the Siddhas the juice of *Parūṣaka*. Although we are not in a position to identify all these regions, yet it shows the popularity of fruit juices in the country.⁷

All the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, carnivorous animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry, were avoided, but dry radish and unripe *Bilva* fruit were used.⁸ From the Kāmasūtra it appears that besides radish, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin

¹ Watters Vol. I. pp. 292-293.

² Beal—Life of Yuan Chwang.

³ Beal—Si-yu-ki. II. 195.

⁴ Griffith—Ajanta Paintings Cave I plates 102-112.

⁵ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁶ फलानामवरं तत्र त्रिकुचं सर्वदोषकृत्

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁷ Juice of sugarcane—Vāyu. 46.9.

Juice of *Lakuca* fruit—Vāyu. 46-9.

Juice of *Nyagrodha* fruit— Ibid.

Juice of *Jambū* fruit—Vāyu. 46.12-29.

Juice of Bread fruit—Vāyu. 43. 4-5.

Juice of *Parūṣaka*—Vāyu. 38.65.

⁸ हिमानलोष्णं दुर्वीतं व्यालं लालादि दूषितम्।

जन्तुशुष्टं जले मग्नम् भूमिजमनार्तवम्।

अन्यं धान्ययुतं हीनवीर्यजीर्णतयाति च।

धान्यं त्यजेत्तथा शाकं रुक्षं सिद्धमकोमलम्।

असञ्जातरसंततद्वच्छुष्कं चान्यत्रमूलकात्।

प्रायेण फलमप्येवं तथाऽयं बिल्ववर्जितम्।

Ast. Hrd. Su. VI. 140-43.

gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *pālāṅkī* (a pot herb), *damanaka*, the hogplum (*āmṛātaka*), *ervārūka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (cucumber), bottle gourd and brinjal were in common use.¹ Some other vegetables such as *sāraṇa*, *śigru* and *granthiparna* were also eaten.² But according to medical works *Paṭola*, *Kāśmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣappaka*, *jīvanti*, unripe radish and *vāstuka* were considered good vegetables³ and leaves and stalks of mustard the worst.⁴

Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics.⁵ People generally avoided the use of onions and garlic.⁶ According to Itsing the Hindus believed that onions of any kind caused pain, spoilt eyesight and caused the body to become more and more weak.⁷ But the Bower Mss. prescribe the use of garlic as medicine in the treatment of many diseases. The author prescribes a method by which it could be administered to those Brāhmaṇas who avoided it. He says that a cow should be kept without grass for three nights. She should then be given stalks of garlic with some grass to eat and her milk, curds, clarified butter and buttermilk should be given to such Brāhmaṇas.⁸ He also describes how a soup of garlic should be prepared, with some flour, meat, ground *mudga* pulse, some green and dry spices and *Soṅcala* salt. The mixture should be well fried in clarified butter before preparing the soup.⁹

¹ मूलकालुक पलङ्की दमनकाभ्रातकवासिक त्रपुस वार्ताक कुष्माण्डालावु. सूरण शुक्रनासा स्वयं गुप्ता तिलपर्णिकान्निमन्ध लशुन पलाण्डु प्रभृतीनां सर्वोपधीनां च बीजग्रहणं काले वापयच ।

Kāmasūtra. IV. 1.29.

² जसवूक वचावज्जक सुरस सूरण शिष्टु ग्रन्थिपर्णगवेधुका गर्मुद् गुल्म गृह् वाटिकैः ।

Harṣacarita. p. 229.

³ शीलयेच्छालिगोधूम यवघटिक जाङ्गलम् ।

मुनिषण्णक जीवन्ती बालमूलक वास्तुकम् ।

पथ्यामलक मृद्रीका पटोलाः मुद्ग शर्कराः ।

वल्लीफलानां प्रवरं कूष्माण्डं वातपित्तजित् ।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 42-43.

⁴ शाकानामवरं विष्मूत्रसर्वदोषहृत् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 134.

⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang. II. 117.

⁶ Watters—Yuan Chwang. p. 178, Beal Si-yu-ki II. 88.

⁷ Itsing. p. 45 and p. 137.

⁸ Bower Mss. I. 34.

⁹ कन्दाञ्छङ्खामानपहतमलान् सक्तुकुल्मासचुक्रैः

सपिस्तैलाम्यां समितविकृतैः सूपमांसप्रकारैः ।

मोद्गंश्चूर्णैर्हरितकयुतैर्गन्ध सौवर्चलाद्यैः—

रद्यास्त्वेकारैर्वह्निभिरपरैः साधितावेतराणि ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 151.

Bower. Mss. I. 31.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Aṅgavijjā* it appears that many varieties of intoxicating drinks were in use.¹ Kālidāsa's works have similarly many references to drinking.² It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women; ladies of royal families, therefore, enjoyed drinking.³ Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquorshops.⁴ The statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that in Kali-yuga even women would drink has probably a reference to contemporary habits i.e. to the fourth century A.D. when it was finally redacted.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa drinking with sixteen thousand ladies and does not regard him as a sinner. Ajantā paintings also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars.⁶ Yuan Chwang states that the

¹ The *Angv.* (p. 64, p. 181, 221) mentions the following varieties of intoxicating drinks:—

Apakvarasa, pakvarasa, āsava, ariṣṭa, maireyaka, madhu, godhastilaka, yava, prasannā, ayasa, ivetasmā, āsavāśava, niṣṭhita, madhura, jagala, atṭhahālikā, mūrā, phusukundī, jayakālikā.

² *Śakuntalā* VI. p. 188, *Rtusamhāra* I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10, *Raghu* IV. 42, 61, XIII. 52.

³ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Irāvati indulges in drinking. Indumati, the queen of Aja liked to receive wine from the mouth of her husband (*Raghu* VIII. 68). The Mandsore inscription (Fleet C.I.I. III. 18. p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women.' The after effects of drinking on women are described in the *Kumārasambhava*. The *Harṣacarita* (p. 82) also mentions beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumātila mentions that in Abhicchatra and Mathurā even Brāhmaṇa women indulged in drinking.

प्रथमं लोकवाद एव अथ सत्यं संवृत्तः।

Malavika. III. 49.

स्वस्तयन् पदे पदे।

Kumar. IV. 12.

चूर्णमान नयनम्

Kumar. VIII. 80.

⁴ लब्ध मधुमदं प्रचण्डं चर्मकारपुटोल्लालितं कोणं पटुं विषद्वन्द्वं रजन् मञ्जलपटुम्।
Harṣacarita. IV. p. 142.

दीयते गणिका कामुकानां सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम् पीयते चानवरत्नं ससीत्कारं मदिरा इमाः
चेटाः आसवकरकापीतमदिरेणिकाजनैर्यै मुक्तास्ते पिबन्ति।

Mich. VI.

C.f. *Śakuntalā*. VI. p. 182.

⁵ *Vāyu* 58.43.

The *Brhaspati Smṛti* also lays down that drinking should be avoided only by those women whose husbands are away.

मद्य मांसाभियोगं च न कुर्यात् प्रोषिते प्रभौ।

Brhaspati. Sm. 25.13. p. 194.

⁶ Fahien states that drinking was unknown throughout *Madhyadeśa* but

Kṣatriyas used intoxicating drinks prepared from the juice of grapes and sugarcane while the Vaiśyas used strong fermented drinks. The Śramaṇas and the Brahmanas drank only syrups prepared with the juice of grapes and sugarcane.¹ Cultivation of *soma* plant is referred to in the Harṣacarita. It is, therefore, probable that Brāhmaṇas may have used *soma* juice as a beverage.² From Perumpanattarupadai we learn that in the south people other than Brāhmaṇas were addicted to drinking.³ Rich liquors imported from the west were served at the royal table and the poor enjoyed country wine.⁴

Intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice.⁵ Wines flavoured with mango juice and *Pāṭala* flowers were also used.⁶ The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions an intoxicating liquor called *Kaśya*.⁷ Wines were also prepared from such fruits as *rājādana* and *madanaphala* and *madhūka* flowers.⁸ All the varieties of liquors mentioned in the earlier period were used in this period and the medical works prescribe their moderate use, as in the earlier works.⁹

the literary evidence before us makes it highly improbable.

आपानगोष्ठीषु तथा तावां स नरपुङ्गवः।

शुश्राव विविधं गीतं तन्त्रीस्वरविमिश्रितम्।

Matsya. 120.31.

Griffith—Ajanta Paintings.

¹ Watters—Yuan Chwang. I. p. 17.8.

Beal Si-yu-ki, p. 89.

² सेकसुकुमार सोमके दारिका हरितायमाण प्रघणानि

Harṣacarita. II. p. 44.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, p. 194.

⁴ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁵ द्राक्षेक्षुर्माक्षिकं शालिशतमात्रीहि पञ्चमा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁶ Raghu. XIX. 46.

⁷ कश्यं मद्यं स्मृतं विप्रैः।

Vayu. 65.116.

⁸ Harṣacarita. p. 230.

⁹ *Surā*—Amar. II. 10.39, Kamasutra. IV. 1.35.

Vāruṇī—Kumar. IV. 12.

Śiddha—Amar. II. 10.42, Raghu. XVI. 52, Malavika. IV. p. 48, Mrch.

VII. 30.

Surāsava—सीधु सुरासवमत्ता।

Mrch. VII. 30.

Maireya—तत्र मधु मैरेयसुरासवान्

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

C.f. Ibid. IV. 1.35.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Bad smelling and foamy water and that taken from small ponds was not used for drinking purposes.¹ Good drinking water is said to have eight virtues which are, however, not mentioned.² The water from rivers, tanks, springs and wells was, as before generally used for drinking.³ It was stored in jars hung in windows, receiving cool gusts of breeze which kept it cool by evaporation.⁴ In the *Harṣacarita* we find a special officer in charge of drinking water.⁵ In the medical works water is called the very essence of life.⁶ Rain water is regarded as the best for drinking, especially, in the rainy season while impure water, if necessary, was used only after straining in a piece of cloth.⁷

Prasannā—Amar. II. 10.40.

Kādambarī—Amar. II. 10.40.

Mādhavī—Amar. II. 10.41, *Kamasutra*. I. 4.38.

Nārikelāsava (an āsava prepared from the juice of cocoanut.) Raghu.

IV. 65.

Madirā—Mrch. VI., *Rtusamhāra* VI. 10. For details see F. D. A. I. Chapter V. pp. 151-53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI and Ast. Hrd. V.

दीपनं रोचनं मद्यं तीक्ष्णोष्णं तुष्टिपुष्टिदम्
सस्वादु तिक्त कटुकमम्लपाकरसम् सरम्
स कषायं स्वरारोग्यं प्रतिभाषणकृत्स्नम्
नष्टनिद्राजतिनिद्रेन्मो हितं पित्तासद्गुणम्
कुशस्थूल हितं रूक्ष स्रोतो विशोधनम्।
वातश्लेष्म हरं युक्त्यापीतं विषवदन्यथा।

Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 62-65.

¹ दुर्गन्धं फेनिलं चैव तथा वै पल्लवोदकम्
न लभेद्यत्र गौस्तृप्तिं नक्तं यन्त्रैव गृह्यते।

Vayu. 78.16.

² शृण्वाङ्गोपेतस्य पानीयस्यापूरयतेति।

Div. 127.19.

³ कोप सारस ताडाग चीण्ड्य प्रासवणौदिभदम्।
वापी नदीतोयमिति पुनः स्मृतमष्टधा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 12.

C.f. Angv. p. 232.

⁴ श्रवणमन्दिता गवाक्षेषु वातं गृह्णन्ति सलिलं गगर्धैः।

Mrch. IV.

⁵ *Toyakarmāntika*—*Harṣacarita* Chapter V.

⁶ पानीयं प्राणिनां प्राणा विष्वमेव च तन्मयम्
अतोऽप्यन्तनिषेधेऽपि न क्वचिद् वारि वार्यते।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 30.

⁷ दिव्यं वारि वरं वर्षे।

Ast. Sam. VI. 52.

Milk and its other products such as butter-milk were generally used as beverages. Sometimes earthen pots containing butter milk were cooled by keeping them underground in ice which was brought from the Himālayas.¹ Many syrups were prepared with the juices of fruits such as mango, dates, grapes, *lakuca*, rose apple, *nyagrodha*, bread fruit and *parūṣaka*. Juice of sugar-cane, and *gūḍa* mixed with water were also used as beverages.² Drinks were also prepared with some spices such as dry ginger, *asana* and *jalada*.³ Itsing states that it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by the Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.⁴ Syrups are frequently mentioned in other works of the period.⁵ Some drinks prepared with plantain, cocoanut, and *paṭola* leaves were used in the summer season. Camphor was mixed in these beverages to make them fragrant.⁶

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking was considered so important that it is regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts.⁷ The story of Gominī

खात धीत शिला पृष्ठ वस्त्रादिभ्यः स्नृतं जलम् ।
हेममृण्मयपात्रस्थमविषन्तं सदा पिबेत् ।
शृंगवेराम्बुसाराम्बु मध्वम्बु जलदाम्बु च ।

Ast. Hrd. III. 23.

¹ तुषार परिकरक शिशिरी त्रियम्पाणोदस्त्रिविति ।

Harṣacarita. V.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 183, f. n. 7.

³ Ast. Hrd. III. 23. See F.D.A.I. 187, f. n. 7.

⁴ Itsing p. 125.

⁵ उष्णमन्त्रं द्विजातिभ्यो दातव्यं श्रेय इच्छता ।

अन्यत्र फल मूलेभ्यो पानकैर्म्यस्तथैव च ।

Kurma.

जलानुपानं खण्डलाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसात्म्ययुक्तमुभावप्युपयुञ्जीयाताम् ।

Kamasutra. II. 10.15-17.

C.f. Angv. p. 181.

⁶ पिबेद् रसं नाति धनं रसाला रागधादवौ । ३०
पानकं पञ्चसारं वा नव मृद्भाजने स्थितम् ।
मोच चौध दलैर्वृक्तं साम्यं मृण्मय शुक्तिभिः । ३१
पाटला वासितं शाम्भः सकर्पूरं सुशीतलम् ।
मधुसर्जूरं मृद्वीका परुषकं सिताम्भसा । ३२
मन्थोवा पञ्च सारेण सधृतैर्लाजसक्तुभिः ।
द्राक्षा मधूकं खर्जूरं काश्मर्यं सपरुषकः । ३३
तुल्यांशैः कल्पितं पूतं शीतं कर्पूरं वासितम् ।

Ast. Hrd. Su. III. 30-34.

⁷ Kamasutra.

in the Daśakumāracarita shows that proficiency in cooking was considered an essential qualification of brides.¹ Kitchens were generally located in well lighted, clean, quiet and secluded places where strangers might have no access.² Cooks expert in cooking pulses, rice, cakes, and sweets are mentioned.³ There is also mention of a special officer in charge of the kitchen in the Allahabad inscription.⁴

The various processes in cooking such as mixing various substances, frying in oils or clarified butter, and fumigation are mentioned in the Amarakośa.⁵ The description of Vasanta-senā's kitchen is interesting.⁶ Even in a hermitage like that of Vālmiki such fine preparations as rice boiled with some fruits and vegetables were available. Their fragrance pervaded the whole atmosphere.⁷ The Aṣṭ. Sam. mentions cakes cooked in a fire made of chaff, a pot sherd, a frying pan, an oven, and on charcoals.⁸

¹ Daśakumāracarita. VI.

² महानसं च सुगुप्तं स्वादर्शनीयं च ।

Kama Sutra. IV. 1.18.

C.f. Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 60.61, Amar. II. 9.27.

³ सूपकारास्तु बल्लवाः ।

आरालिका आन्धसिकाः सूदाग्रीदनिका गुणाः ।

आपूपिकः कान्दविका भक्ष्यकार इमेतिषु ।

Amar. II. 9. 27-28.

सद्व्यञ्जन कर्तारस्तत्पका व्ययकास्तथा ।

प्रसाधका भोजकाश्च गात्रसंवाहकास्तथा ।

Kamandaka. VII. 13.

⁴ *Kṣādyatāpākika* (a superintendent of the kitchen.) (Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta). The chief cook is called *Panrogava*, (Harṣacarita, Amar. II. 9.27.)

⁵ *Bhāvita*—fumigated.

Picchila (sauce mixed with rice or gruel).

Āpakva (fried in butter).

Amar. II. 9. 46-47.

⁶ अयं दरिद्र जनलोभोत्पादन कर आहारल्युपचितो हिङ्गु तैल गन्धः विविधं सुरभि धूमो-
द्गारनिर्गतं संताप्यमानं निःश्वसतीव महानसंदारमुखैः ।

अयमपरः हृतपशूदरपेशि धावतिरूपिदारकः । बहुविध्याहारं मृप साधयति सूपकारः ।
बध्यन्तेमोदकाः पच्यन्ते पूपकाः ।

Mrch. IV. p. 237.

⁷ गन्धेन स्फुरता मनागनुसृतोमक्तस्य सपिष्मतः ।

कर्कन्धूफलमिश्रसाकपचनामोदः परित्सीर्यते ।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

⁸ कुक्कुल सर्परघ्राष्ट कन्दङ्गारविपाषितान्
एकयोनी जघनून्विद्यादपूपानुत्तरोत्तरम् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 66.

As before the rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes—vessels made of other metals and the poor leaves sewn together and earthenware.¹ All the utensils mentioned in the earlier period were in common use.² From the account of Yuan Chwang we learn that people used saucepans and stewpans but they did not know the use of a steamer. People did not use spoons or chop sticks.³ Drinking cups were made of conchshell and were engraved with designs.⁴ Oil was stored in leather bags.⁵ Spitons for spitting the juice of betel leaves had come into use.⁶

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the early periods a householder is expected to offer food to gods, guests, Brāhmanas, spirits and dependants before he himself takes his meals. It is stated that many [gods come to the householder in the form of a guest so a man should always be anxious to accord hospitality to a guest and he who takes his meals without feeding a guest is a sinner.⁷ To provide food

¹ भुक्त्वाशतपले पात्रे सौवर्णे राजतेऽववावा
भुञ्जानोमृष्ये पात्रे कण्विष्य परितप्यसे।

Div. 559.

सौवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितृणां पात्रमृष्यते।

Vayu. 47.1.

Itsing states that fresh leaves sewn together were used as plates and bronze vessels were also used (pp. 46-47).

² The Harṣacarita VII mentions a water jar (*kalasa*), *karkarī*, *kumbha*, (*aliñjara*), a box for betel leaves (*tāmbūla karaka*), a utensil for cooking (*tāmra-sarapa*), an iron pan (*kaṭāba*), a drinking cup (*pānabhājana*), a ring well (*gaṇḍa kusūla*), a pan (*tāpaka*) or (*tāpikā*) and a spit (*bastaka*).

C.f. Amar. II. 9. 30-34.

³ Beal. Si-yu-ki. I. 89.

⁴ Harṣacrita. pp. 156, 207.

⁵ Amar. *Kuṭy* or *kuṭyā*. II. 9.33.

⁶ *Bhaumapataḍgraha*—Kamasutra. IV. 1.18.

⁷ See Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 37 F.D.A.I. p. 191, f. n. 2.

घाला प्रजापतिः शक्रो बलिर्वसु गणोर्दमा।

प्रविश्यातिथिमेते वै भुञ्जतेऽन्नं नरेस्वर।६६।

तस्मादतिथिपूजायां यतेत सततं नरः।

स केवलमघं भुङ्क्ते यो भुङ्क्ते त्वतिथिं विना।६७।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 66-67.

ततः सुवासिनी दुःखि गन्धिणी वृद्ध बालकान्

भोजयेत् संस्तुताग्नेन प्रथमं चरमं गृही।

Visnu. III. 11. 68.

and drinks to the blind, the sick, the lame, the poor, and the orphans is considered a sacred duty,¹ and it is laid down that one should never cook food only for himself.

The Purāṇas repeat the rules about the purity of food. They prohibit the use of unclean food and that offered by unclean or dishonest persons for it is stated that one who eats food offered by a sinner himself becomes a sinner.²

The duty of taking meals on a clean piece of ground after washing hands, feet and mouth is equally emphasised.³ Even a

यत्किञ्चित् पच्यते गेहे भक्ष्यं वा भोज्यमे व च
अनिवेद्य न भोजतव्यं तस्मिन्नायतने सदा।

Vayu. Pu. 74. 31.

यज्ञावशिष्टमद्याद्वा न कृद्धी नान्यमानसः।
आत्मार्यं भोजनं यस्य रत्यर्यं यस्य मेषुनम्।
वृत्यर्यं यस्य चाधीतं निष्कलं तस्य जीवितम्।

Kurma. Pu. 19.

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra (III. 36-39) also gives food offerings suitable for Brāhmaṇas, gods, manes, sages, Rākṣasas, and birds.

अन्नपानविधानेन भुञ्जीतान्नं दिनात्ययात्।
अभिनन्द्य प्रसन्नात्मा हृत्वा दत्त्वा च शक्तितः।
पार्कं सज्जमेकान्ते ययासुसमिति ब्रुवन्
प्रयच्छेत् सर्वमुद्दिश्य पाचयेनान्नमात्मने।

Ast. Sam. III. 76-77.

¹ अन्ध व्याधित हीनाङ्गदीनानाथ वनीपकाः।
तेष्वन्नपानम् साम्येन लभेरन्न विषट्टिताः।

Ratnāvali. IV. 20.

² Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. XVII., Matsya. Ch. 16.

यो यस्यान्नं समदनाति स तस्यादनाति किल्बिषम्।

Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. 17.

काले सात्त्व्यं शुचि हितं स्निग्धोष्णं लघुतन्मना।३५।
षड्रसं मधुरप्रायं नातिद्रुतविलम्बितम्।
स्तातः क्षुद्रान् विविक्तस्थो घृतपादकराननः।३६।
तर्पयित्वा पितृन् देवानतिथीन् बालकान् गुरुन्।
प्रत्यवेक्ष्य तिरस्चोऽपि प्रतिपन्ने परिग्रहान्।३७।
समीक्ष्य सम्प्रगात्मानमनिन्दन्नब्रुवन् ब्रह्मम्।
दृष्टमिष्टं सहाशनीयाच्छुचिभक्तजनाहृतम्।३८।
भोजनं तृणकेशादिजुष्टमुष्णीकृतं पुनः।
शाकावरात्रं भूयिष्ठमत्युष्णं लवणं त्यजेत्।३९।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35-39.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. X. 16., Itsing. Chapter III. p. 26.

पञ्चाद्रौ भोजनं कुर्याद् भूमौ पात्रं निधाय च।
उपवासेन तत्तुल्यं मनुराहं प्रजापतिः।
उपलिप्ते शुचौदेशे पादौ प्रक्षाल्य वै करो।
आचाम्याद्रानिनोऽशोषः पञ्चाद्रौ भोजनञ्चरेत्।

Kurma. Pu. XIX.

work on medicine like the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* lays down that one should avoid food offered by persons about to die, those maintaining themselves with difficulty, the henpecked, eunuchs, the degraded, hunters, evil doers, associations, enemies, prostitutes, rogues, and a usurer, as also food given in charity to all.¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes atheists, people living in non-Aryan regions, such as Dravida, Konkana and a worshipper of Śiva (*liṅgin*) in the above list.² Leavings of food were not used by respectable persons.³ But Kumārila states that some Brāhmaṇas used to take food of which their friends or relatives had already partaken. He also mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in the north used to eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends.⁴ But all these rules could be waived in times of scarcity. From the *Kādambari* we learn that in times of need the people of the high castes could use food and water offered by a Caṇḍāla.⁵ Food was taken in a happy mood without reviling it and the practice of washing hands and mouth after meals was observed. Those who did not observe it were looked down upon in society.⁶

There were generally three meals. According to Śabara Devadatta's morning meal consisted of cakes, midday meal of

¹ नाश्रमद्यान्मूर्खाणां मृतानां दुःखजीविनाम् ।
स्त्रीजित क्लीब पतित क्रूर दुष्कृतकारिणाम् ।७८।
गणारि गणिका सन्नधूतानां पाणिकं च न ।
नोत्सङ्गे भक्षयेद् भक्ष्यान् जलं नाञ्जलिना पिबेत् ।७९।

Ast. Sam. III. 78-79.

² Matsya. Pu. XVI.

Cf. Kurma. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Itsing. Ch. IV. p. 24, 25, 26.

⁴ 'Indians take bath before meals. They do not give leavings of food to anybody. Utensils once used are not given to others without being properly cleaned. Earthen and wooden vessels are used only once. Gold, silver, and copper vessels are cleaned before they are used again'—Watters on Yuan Chwang. IX. p. 152.

⁵ Tantravārtika.

⁶ Kādambari.

⁷ Itsing. IX. 39, Ast. Sam. X. 39.

अनिन्द्यं भक्षयेदित्यं वाग्यतोऽन्नमकुत्सयन् ।
पञ्चप्रासान् महामीनं प्राणाद्याप्यायनाय च ।

Vispu. Pu. III. 11.85.

भुक्त्वा सम्यगाचाम्य प्राङ्मुखोदङ्मुखोऽपि वा ।
यथायत् पुनराचमेत् पाणी प्रक्षाल्यमूलतः ।
सुस्थः प्रक्षान्तचित्तस्तु कृतासनपरिग्रहः ।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 86-87.

various food preparations and afternoon meal of sweets such as *modakas*. It seems that there was generally no evening meal.¹ But this may not have been the general rule for every one. Some people, it seems, also took evening meal.² The times of taking meals seem to be well regulated on medical grounds and the transgression of the appropriate time was adjudged a bad habit by physicians.³ Taking meals at midnight at noon or when one was suffering from indigestion was considered improper.⁴ The old rule of dividing the stomach into four parts—two for solid food, one for liquid and one for wind etc. is repeated.⁵

The necessity of changing food according to the temperament and not eating the same preparations day after day was fully recognised.⁶ As before, medical works prescribe food articles suitable for different seasons⁷ and give a list of articles which

¹ यथा देवदत्तः प्रातरूपं भक्षयति, माध्यन्दिने विविधमन्नमश्नाति, अपराह्णे मोदकान् भक्षयतीति एकस्मिन्नहनीतिगम्यते।

Sabara on Jaimini V. 1.20.

Also see 'Itsing in India' by V.R.R. Dikshitar in I.H.Q. March, 1952, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 p. 117.

अस्तिकिञ्चित् प्रातराशोनेवेति।

Mṛcchakaṭika.

² पूर्वाह्णपराह्णयोर्भोजनम्। सायं चारायनस्य।

Kamasutra. I. 4.7.

³ उचितवेलातिक्रमं चिकित्सकादोषमुदाहरन्ति।

Malavikagnimitra. II. 35.

⁴ नार्धरात्रे न मध्याह्णे नाजीर्णे नार्धवस्त्रधृक् न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न च पाणिषु।

Kurma. Pu. II. 19, 20.

C.f. Ast. Hr. Su. XI. 63-68.

⁵ अग्नेन कुक्षेर्द्वाविंशौ पानेनैकं प्रपूरयेत्।

आश्रयं पचनादीनाम् चतुर्थमवशेषयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 46-47.

⁶ Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35. See Ast. Sam. Su. X. 67.

⁷ For Food for winter—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 13-17 and Ast. Hr. Su. III.

12-13.

For Food for the spring season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 25-27. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 20-26.

Food For summer—Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 32-34.

भजेन्मधुरमेवात्रं लघु स्निग्धं हिमद्रवम्।

सुशीततोयसिक्ताङ्गो लिह्यात् सक्तून् सशर्करान्। २८।

मद्यं न पेयं, पेयं वा स्वल्पं सबहुवारि वा

कुन्देन्दुधवलशालिमशनीयाज्जाङ्गलैः पलैः।

पिबेद्रसं नातिषनं रसालां रागषाड्वी। ३०।

पानकं पञ्चसारं वा नवमृद्भाजने स्थितम्।

could be used daily and of those which should only be used rarely. Easily digestible articles are recommended for daily use while those difficult to digest are considered unfit for daily use.¹ It is laid down that articles difficult to digest, sweet and fatty should be taken in the beginning, acidic and saline preparation in the middle and other flavours in the end.² As before the medical works also mention preparations which should not be taken together.³

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. People were generally expected to eat facing the east, sitting on a seat and not on a cot, in proper utensils, at proper time and at a proper place.⁴ They were also expected

मोच चोषदलेयुक्तं सात्त्व्यं मृण्मयशुक्तिभिः।३१।
पाटसावासितं चाम्भः सकपूरं सुशीतलम्।
मधुखर्जूरं मूढ्रीका पक्वक सिताम्भसा।
मन्थो वा पञ्चसारेण सघृतं लाजसक्तुभिः।
द्राक्षा मधुक खर्जूरं काश्मर्यैः सपरुषकः।
तुल्यांशैः कल्पितपूतं शीतं कपूरवासितम्।३५।

Ast. Hr. Su. III. 28-35.

For Food for the Rainy season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 44-46. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 45-47.

For Food for the Autumn season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 54-59, and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 47-48.

शीलवेच्छालिमोधूम यव षष्टिक जाङ्गलम्।
मुनिषण्णक जीवन्ती बालमूलक वास्तुकम्।४२।
पद्मामलकमूढ्रीका पटालीमूद्गशर्कराः।
धृतं दिग्बोदकं क्षीरं क्षीद्रदाडिम सैन्धवम्।४३।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 42-43.

किलाट वधि कूचिका क्षार शुक्लाममूलकम्।
कुशकुष्क वराहावि गोमत्स्य महिषामिषम्।४०।
माषनिष्ठाव शालूक विस पिष्ट विरुढकम्।
शुष्क शाकानि यवकान् फाणितं च न शीलयेत्।४१।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 40-41.

विसेधु मोचचोचाभ्रमोदकोत्कारिकादिकम्
असाद् द्रव्यं गुरु स्निग्धं स्वादु मन्दं स्थिरं पुरः।४५।
विपरीतमतश्चान्ते मध्येऽन्तलवणोत्कटम्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 45-46.
C.f. Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82-83.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. IX. 1-12.

⁴ प्राङ्मुखोऽज्ञानिभुञ्जीत सूर्याभिमुख एव च।
आसीनः स्वासनं शुद्धे भूम्यां पादोन्निधाय च।
आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते यशस्यं दक्षिणामुखः।
श्रियं प्रत्यङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते ऋतं भुङ्क्ते उदङ्मुखः।

Kurma Pt. II. Ch. XIX.

to take off their head dress and shoes before taking meals.¹ A person was not advised to eat in darkness, in a temple or with his wife. He was not to eat from a broken vessel or from the lap or from the palm of his hands,² nor should he drink water by joining his hands together.³ A person was not to take sweets when others did not partake of them.⁴ He was not to eat all the solid food served to him but was to leave some for departed spirits and birds.⁵ But it was considered improper to leave liquid articles of food such as honey, curds and clarified butter as also delicious cakes called *Saskeḍi*.⁶ People generally avoided preparations of sesamum at night.⁷

Itsing states that sitting crosslegged side by side and to have meals stretched out was considered improper. The priests sat on separate small chairs. The chair was about seven inches high by a foot square and its seat was made of wicker. They placed their feet on the ground and trays were placed before them.⁸ First one or two pieces of ginger with some salt were

नासंदी संस्थिते पात्रे नादेशे च नरेश्वर।
नाकाले नातिसंकीर्णे दत्वाद्यं च नराग्नये।

Visnu. III. 11.79.

¹ यद्भुङ्क्ते वेष्टितशिराः यच्चभुङ्क्ते विद्धिमुखः।
सोपानत्कश्च यो भुङ्क्ते सर्वविद्यात्तदामुत्तमम्।

Kurma. XIX.

² नार्धरात्रे न मध्याह्ने नाजीर्णे नार्द्रवस्त्रधृक्।
न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न पाणिषु।
नोच्छिष्टो घृतमादद्यात् न मूर्धानं स्पृशन्नपि।
न ब्रह्मकीर्तयित्वापि न निःशेषं न भार्यया।
नान्धकारे न सन्ध्यायां न च देवालयविष्टम्।

Kurma Pu. II. 19. 20-22

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 192, f. n. 1.

⁴ नादत्वामृष्टमश्नीयात् बहूनां च पश्यताम्।
नाशनीम् बह्वश्चैव नरावैकस्य पश्यतः।
बहूनां प्रेषमाणानां नैकस्मिन् बह्वस्तथा।

Visnu. Pu.

⁵ Itsing. p. 24.

⁶ नाशेषं पुरुषोश्नीयादन्वज्रं जगतीपते।
मध्वन्नदधिर्षिभ्यः शङ्कुल्यश्च विवेकवान्।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82.

⁷ सर्वं च तिलसंबद्धं नाद्यादस्तमिते रजौ
न भुक्तमात्र आयस्येन निषिद्धं भजेत्सुखम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. III. 80.

⁸ Itsing. pp. 22, 24, 116, 123.

served. Then some boiled rice and bean soup were served with hot butter sauce as flavouring which was mixed with fingers with other food. Then cakes, fruits, clarified butter and sugar were served.¹ After the guests had taken their meals tooth woods and pure water were supplied to them for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes a perfumed paste was given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean.

The practice of drinking some liquid such as cold or warm water, whey, butter milk, and sour gruel is mentioned in the medical works.² After this liquid, betel leaves, with some fragrant spices, were taken as it was believed that it helped digestion, removed the phlegm and made the mouth fragrant.³ The practice of betel chewing was so common that it is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra in the account of the citizen.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we read that Sudrṣṭi had his lips red with betel leaves.⁵ King Sūdraka also used to chew betel leaves after his midday

¹ Itsing. pp. 39-40.

² मनुपानं हिमं वारि यवगोधूमयोहितम् । ४७
दधि मध्वे विषे क्षीरे कोष्णे पिष्टमयेषु तु ।
शाकमुद्गादि विकृती मस्तुतकाम्ल काञ्जिकम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 47-48.

³ Betel leaves are mentioned in the Raghu VI. 64 and betel nuts in Raghu XIII. 17.

ताम्बूलं कटु सक्षारं हृद्यमुष्णं कफघ्नम् । ८३
भेदि संमोहकृतं पूगं कषायं स्वादुरोचकम् ।
जातिपत्री कटुफलं कङ्कालकं लवङ्गकम् । ८४
लघु तृष्णापहं हृद्यं वक्त्रं दुर्गन्धनाशनम् ।
सस्वादु तिक्तस्तृष्णाघ्नः कर्पूरसंछेदनोहिमः । ८५

Ast. Hr. XII. 83-85.

कामप्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनक्ति सौभाग्यभावहतिवक्त्रमुगन्धितांश्च
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांश्च निहन्ति रोगांस्ताम्बूलमेवमपरांश्च गुणान् करोति ।
युक्तेन चूर्णेन करोति रागं रागं क्षयं पूगफलातिरिक्तम्
चूर्णाधिकं वक्त्रविगन्धकारि पत्राधिकम् साधु करोति गन्धम् ।
पत्राधिकम् निशिहितं सफलं दिवा च प्रोक्तान्यथाकरणमस्य विद्वन्मनैव
कक्कालं पूगलवली फलपारिजातैरामोदितं मधुमांशुदितं करोति ।

Bṛhatsarhihitā 77. 35-37.

C.f. Itsing IX. 39.

दीयते गणिका कामुकयोः सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम् ।

Mṛgchakaṭika IV.

Some fragrant spices such as camphor and cloves were also taken after meals to make the mouth fragrant (Harṣacarita. p. 21).

⁴ गृहीतमुखवास्ताम्बूलः

Kamasutra I. 4.5.

⁵ Harṣacarita. p. 85.

meal.¹ Yuan Chwang received one hundred and twenty betel leaves and twenty betel nuts daily as part of his ration.² The practice of smoking a cigar prepared with fragrant substances is also mentioned.³ After the meals the rich avoided hard work⁴ and indulged in such enjoyments as listening to the conversation of parrots or *sārikās*, seeing the fights between quails, cocks or rams, or the shows of acrobats and clowns. Sometimes they also slept during the day.⁵

Children used to take some breakfast in the morning.⁶ The newly married couple were as before expected to avoid saline preparations.⁷ The Buddhist monks did not drink intoxicating drinks and avoided taking meals at forbidden hours.⁸ Their breakfast generally consisted of rice water, their lunch of rice, butter milk, fruits and sweet melons and they were permitted to have a light evening meal.⁹ Fahien also states that liquid food was permitted to monks at irregular hours.¹⁰ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* lays down that an ascetic should not be fond of taking only one

¹ परिपीतधूपधूमवतिरुपसृश्य च गृहीत ताम्बूलः।

Kadambari Para. 15.

² Beal Si-yu-ki.

³ See f. n. 1 above.

मृदुधीत धूपिताम्बर ग्राम्यं मण्डनञ्च विभ्राणा।

परिपीतधूमवतिः स्थास्यसि रमणान्तिके सुतनु।

Kuṭṭenimatam.

कर्पूरागुरु चन्दनमुस्ता पूति श्रियंगुबालं च

मांसी चेति नृपाणां योग्या रतिनाथ धूमवतिः।

Nāgara Sarvasva.

Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his 'Kādambari Eka Sāhśrīktika Adhyayana' p. 32. Chap. 15.

Caśaka's reference to the preparation of the cigar (vide F.D.A.I. p. 163, f. n. 3 and the above quotations make it clear that it was a common practice among the rich.

⁴ See F.D.A.I. p. 195, f. n. 7.

⁵ भोजनान्तरं शुक सारिका प्रलपनव्यापाराः। लावककुङ्कुटमेघपुद्गानि तास्ताश्च कलाक्रीडाः। पीठमर्दं विट विद्रुवकायत्ता व्यापाराः।

Kamasutra, I. 4.8.

⁶ दारकाणां पूर्वभक्षिकाम् अन्तुप्रयच्छति।

Divyavadana. p. 30. 20.

⁷ संगतयोः स्त्रिरात्रमधः शय्या अलपयं क्षारलवण वर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतूर्यमङ्गल-स्नानम् प्रसाधनम् सहभोजनम्.....।

Kamasutra, 191. 1.

⁸ Itsing. Chapter X.

⁹ Itsing. pp. 26, 44, 117.

¹⁰ Legge—Fahien p. 44.

foodgrain nor should he take honey, meat and salt. He should not accept uncooked food.¹

A taboo against the use of certain vegetables such as onions and garlic is found even in this period.² The Purāṇas declare that *masūra*, linseed, *niṣpāva*, *rājamaṣa*, *kuṣumbhika*, *koḍrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha* and *madhuka*, should not be used as articles of food.³ The Kātyāyana Smṛti lays down that vegetables, meat, *masūra*, gram, *koradūśaka*, honey, some alkalies and sea-salt should not be used as food on the day of a fast.⁴ Generally rice boiled with *guḍa*, clarified butter, curds or rice alone were regarded as proper articles of food on the day of a fast.⁵

It appears that feasts were common during this period. In the friendly parties people enjoyed various kinds of intoxicating drinks, saline preparations, fruits, vegetables, sauces and condiments.⁶ At the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation of a house Brāhmaṇas were fed with clarified butter and milk rice and masters of dramatic art with rice cooked with *guḍa*.⁷ In the royal households the food was as before, examined to see whether it contained any poisonous substance before it was served.⁸ Fahien states that the kings of the states near Mathura

¹ अकामादपि हिसेत यदि भिक्षुः पशून् मृगान्।
कुच्छति कुच्छं कुर्वीत चान्द्रायणमयापि वा। १६।
एकान्नं मधुमांसं वा ह्यम आद्यं तथैव च।
अभोज्यानि यदीनां च प्रत्यक्षलवणानि च। १७।

Vayu. Pu. XVIII. 16, 20.

² Kurma Pu. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Matsya Pu. XV., Padma. Pu. Sṛṣṭi. IX. 62-66.

⁴ शाकं मांसं मसूरञ्च चणकं कौरवपकान्
माषान् मधुवराक्षञ्च वर्जयेदोषवस्यकैः।
सज्जीक्षारं यवक्षारं टक्कुणक्षारमेव च।
अतस्योवर्जयेन्नित्यं सामुद्रं लवणं तथा।

Katyayana Sm. 27.

⁵ गुडोदनं धृतं दधि तण्डुला आर्येणात्तव्यं रसायनं सर्वमस्तीति।

Mrcchakatika. Act. I. p. 14.

⁶ तत्रमधुमेयं सुरासवान् विविधलवणं फलहरितं शाकतिक्तं कटुकाम्लोपदंशान् वेश्याः
पाययेयुरनुपिवेयुश्च।

Kamasutra. I. 4.23.

⁷ Bharata. II. 41-42.

⁸ विरज्यति चकौरस्य दृष्टिः पार्थिवसत्तमः।
विकृति च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नृप।
गतिः स्वलति हंसस्य भृङ्गराजश्च कूजति।
क्रौञ्चो मदमथाम्येति कृकवाकु विरीति च।

Matsya. 219. 18-20.

used to take off their caps when serving food with their own hands to a community of monks and they sat on a carpet on the ground and not on couches.¹ In the Śrāddha feasts sesamum, meat of many animals, clarified butter, milk honey, sugarcane, juices of fruits such as mango, grapes and pomegranate, food grains such as *śyāmāka*, *śāli*, *nivāra*, *mudga* and barley were used while *masūra*, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *safflower*, lotus, *Bilva*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, linseed, milk of goats and sheep, some spices and vegetables were avoided.² The same food was served to all and all the relatives and servants were fed in such feasts.³ Poor people were permitted to perform these rites with fruits, roots, sesamum and water.⁴ Gift of uncooked food is

भोज्यमन्नं परीक्षार्थं प्रदद्यात् पूर्वमन्त्रये।
वयोम्यश्च ततो दद्यात् तत्रलिङ्गानि लक्षयेत्।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

¹ Legge—Fahien. Ch. XVI.

² ग्रीहिभिश्चयवैमर्षिरङ्गुमूलं फलेन वा।
दद्यात्कांश्च यवैः काशैर्नीवारैश्च प्रियङ्गुभिः।
गोधूमैश्चतिलैर्मूङ्गैर्मर्षिं प्रीणयते पितृन्।
आभान् पानेरतानिलात् मूढीकांश्च सदादिमान्।
विदाश्चांश्च कुरण्डांश्चश्राद्धकाले प्रदापयेत्।
लाजा मधुमुता दद्यात्सक्तून् शर्करयासह।
.....
पिप्पली हृषकञ्जैश्च तथा चैव मसूरकम्।
कूष्माण्डालावु वातकिं तन्तुलीयकमेव च।
कुसुम्भं पिण्डमूलं वै तन्तुलीयकं मेव च।
राजमाषांस्तथाक्षीरं माहिषार्जं विवर्जयेत्।
श्राद्धक्यःकोविदारांश्च पालक्या मरिचांस्तथा।
वर्जयेत्सप्तयत्नेन श्राद्धकाले द्विजोत्तम।

Kurma. XX.

Markandeya Pu. 29.9-11., Visnu. Pu. III. 16 C.f. Matsya Pu. XV. also XVII, Vayu. Pu. Ch. 78, 8-48 and Ch. 83, 3-9.

³ न पङ्क्त्या विषमं दद्यान्नयाचेत् न दापयेत्
भुञ्जीरन्नग्रतः श्रेष्ठं न द्वयुः प्राकृतान्गुणान्
शातिष्वपि चतुर्थेषु स्वान्भूत्यान् भोजयेत्ततः।
पश्चात् स्वयंचपरनीभिः शेषमन्नं समाचरेत्।

Kurma. XXII.

C.f. Matsya. XVIII. 57.62.

⁴ अपि मूलफलैर्वापि प्रकुर्वन्निर्धनोद्विजः।
तिलौदकैस्तपयित्वा पितृन् स्नात्वा समाहितः।

Kurma. XXII.

permitted by a Śūdra.¹ Generally vessels made of gold, silver, or copper were used in a Śrāddha by the rich.²

We can also form some idea of the food habits of the people during the period. The inhabitants of the east were mainly rice³ and fish eaters.⁴ They were fond of drinking *surā*,⁵ and alkaline substances suited them.⁶

The staple food grain of the people in the north was wheat,⁷ and women there drank liquors.⁸ The inhabitants of the south enjoyed boiled rice with tamarind.⁹ In the deserts the food of the people consisted of milk, curds and fruit of *karīra* tree. In Sindh fish was much eaten, in the *Āśmaka* country, oils and acidic substances, and in the Malaya region roots and tubers. The people of Konkana were fond of fruit juices and the mountaineers of groats. The staple food of the inhabitants of Avanti was wheat, of the Bālīhika region meat roasted on spits with sour gruel and roasted meat, wheat and grapes were the favourite food articles of the Greeks and Scythians.¹⁰ In Jhang and Montgomery districts (*Uśimara*) people were fond of drinking milk, while in *Gandhāra* people drank decoctions of various kinds.¹¹

There were certain people who lived in their homes but led the life of recluses. They did not join community feasts. Some did not take food offered even by the three higher castes.

¹ एवं शूद्रोपि सामान्य वृद्धि श्राद्धेऽपि सर्वदा।
नभस्कारेण मन्त्रेण कुर्यादामान्नतः सदा।

Matsya. Ch. 17, 70.

² सौवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितृणां पात्रमुच्यते।
राजतं राजताक्तं वा पितृणां पात्रमुच्यते।

Vayu. 74 1.

³ Itsing. p. 43.

⁴ Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 10.

⁵ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

⁶ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234.

⁷ Itsing p. 45.

⁸ Bṛhaspati Sm. I. 129. F.D.A.I. p. 176 f. n. 7.

⁹ Dasakumaracarita. VI.

¹⁰ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234, Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VII. 4.9.

Āśmaka—the region between the Godavari and Mahishmati on the Narmada.

¹¹ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

क्षीरपानाः उशीनराः।

They probably cooked their own food.¹ It shows that restrictions about interdining were sufficiently rigid in this period.

Modakas were offered to the preceptor on the day of initiation of a pupil.² All guests such as teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends were offered clarified butter, honey, sugar or one of the eight kinds of syrups which were allowed by the Buddha.³ Certain rules of etiquette were observed in the dinners of foreigners.⁴

In Kumarila's time Brāhmaṇa women in Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district) and Mathurā drank wine, the Brāhmaṇas of the north ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. Brāhmaṇas of the south took their meal sitting on couches, Brāhmaṇas both in the north and the south had no objection to taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it. They had no objection to taking betel leaves touched by persons of all castes and many of them did not sip water after taking their meals.⁵ Food obtained by begging was considered as unwelcome as death itself while that obtained without begging was regarded as nourishing as nectar.⁶

To sum up the period under review was an era of great prosperity. It resulted in the further enriching of varieties of dishes. Some new preparations of wheat and a stuffing prepared with *mudga* were used. A considerable section of Hindu society had accepted vegetarianism as the normal way of life. Some of the Purāṇas prescribe vegetarian dishes even in a Śrāddha where meat was obligatory before. But the Kṣatriyas relished meat dishes. A tasty meat soup called *Dakṣatāvaṇika* was prepared. In some regions where civilization was not much advanced, such as in the Vindhyas, people were mostly non-vegetarians.

On account of intercourse with foreigners and general prosperity the moral standards had gone down considerably even

¹ विवर्जितजनपदस्तयः ।

वर्णत्रय व्यावृत्ति विशुद्धांशः ।

Harṣacarita. p. 39.

² Malavika. p. 81.

³ Takakusu—Itsing (1896) p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. Ch. XXXI and XXXV.

⁵ Tantravārtika.

⁶ Amar. Vaiśya. 3.

in the Madhyadeśa. The rich indulged in drinking. Even respectable women considered drinking wines a necessary embellishment. But the Brāhmaṇas generally drank syrups. Betel chewing was common. Some articles such as gram, and *maṣūra* were still considered exotic and onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons.

CHAPTER VII

FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 750 To C. 1200 A.D.)

We get some information about food and drinks from Sanskrit and Prākṛta works which were written during the period C. 750 to C. 1200 A.D. Some of the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis which were written during this period also enable us to form an idea about the food habits of the people. But a detailed account of the dishes used during the period is to be found in the *Mānasollāsa*. It describes the various beverages used and narrates vividly the method of preparation of a number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes which were used in the royal households.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The works of this period mention all the food grains used in the earlier period.¹ A dish of hot fragrant rice, the grains of which were unbroken and separate from each other was eaten with great relish.² Rice cooked in the milk of a buffalo was also very popular.³ We come across some new preparations of wheat

¹ Kṛtsavāmin mentions the following food grains:—

Vribi, java, masūra, godbūma, mudga, māṣa, tila, caṇaka, aṇu, priyaṅgu, kodrava, makuṣṭha, jāli, āḍbaki, kalāya, kulatiba and *jaṇa*.

C.f. Vijñāneśvara on Yaj., Garuḍa. VIII. 48.

The Śukranīti lays down that grains which are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, good in colour, smell and taste should be stored by the king to meet the needs of the country for three years.

IV. 2. 27-29.

² Cooked rice.

अमीलसद्वाप्यमक्षिण्डिताखिलम् विद्युत्तमन्योन्यमयुत्तमार्दवम्
रसोत्तरं गौरमपीवरं रसाद्बुभुञ्जतामोदनमोदनं जनाः।

Naiṣadha XVI. 68.

³ श्यामाङ्ग कङ्कनीवार गन्धशालि सुतण्डुलैः ॥३७३॥

सरवेष्टितं सेवाकौदिवसैः लघुविस्तृतैः।

चिरप्रसूतमहिषीपयसा पायसं पथेत्।

Manas. III. 1373-74.

such as *kasāra*¹ and *subālīs*.² The latter were cakes of wheat flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar. If these cakes were not sufficiently hard they were called *Pābalikā*.³ The preparation of cakes of wheat flour has been described in detail in the *Mānasollāsa*. They are called *polikās* or *maṇḍakas*.⁴ Thread like preparation of wheat flour were called *sevikās*⁵ and thin round cakes of fine wheat flour placed one over the other before frying in oil were called *Patrikās*.⁶

¹ The Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu calls wheat in this period the food of the Yavanas, but it is now extensively used.

Kasāra—

गुणाधारिया लड्डुया क्षीरलज्जा कसारं सुसारं मुहलीमज्जा ।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

² तैलपूर्णकटाहेतुसुतन्ते सोहलापचेत् उत्तानपाक संसिद्धाः कठिना सोहलाः मताः ।

Manas. XIII. 1384.

See f. n. 1 above.

Bhavi. XII. 3.

³ *Pābalikā*

तैल मग्नाः मूढयः पाहलिकाः स्मृताः ।

Manas. XIII. 1385.

⁴ *Maṇḍakas*—Wheat was washed, dried in the sun, ground, and cleaned in a sieve. The flour was mixed with clarified butter and salt and made into balls. The balls were turned into cakes with the palms of hands and were cooked in a pot-herd. They were baked on live charcoals before eating. Sometimes a wooden roller and a piece of stone were used to change the balls into circular cakes before baking.

गोधूमाः क्षालिता शुभ्राः शोषिता रविरश्मिभिः । ७५
घट्टेऽश्चूणिताः श्लक्ष्णाश्चालन्या भित्तिपीकृताः ।
गोधूमचूर्णकं श्लक्ष्णं किञ्चित्घृतं विमिश्रितम् । ७६
लवणं च संयुक्तं क्षीरं नीरेण पिण्डितम् ।
सुमहत्यां काष्ठपात्र्यां करास्फालैर्विमर्दयेत् । ७७
मदितं चिक्कणीभूतं गोलकान् परिकल्पयेत् ।
स्नेहाम्यक्तैः करतलैः शालिचूर्णैर्विरुक्षितान् । ७८
प्रसारयेत् गोलकांस्तान् करसञ्चारवर्तनैः ।
विस्तृतमण्डकाः श्लक्ष्णाः सितपट्टसमप्रभाः । ७९
प्रयत्नाग्निशिपेतज्ज्वलस्तप्तवर्षरमस्तके ।
पक्वाश्चापनयेच्छीघ्रं यावत्काण्ड्यं न जायते ।
घतलश्च घतलश्च घटिता मण्डका वराः ।
गोलान् प्रसारितान् पाणावज्जारेषु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1375-81.

पयःस्मितामण्डकं मण्डनान्धरा वटानलेन्दुः पूयुलद्भुक्तनी ।

पदं रुचेर्भोज्यभुजां भुजि त्रिधा, प्रियावभूवोज्ज्वलं कुरहारिणी ।

Naisadha. XVI. 107.

⁵ *Sevikās*—Kathā Koṣaprakaraṇa, Śālibhadra Kathā. p. 58, Vilāsavatī.

⁶ तनु प्रसारितान्गोलान् ताप्यां स्नेहेन पाचितान् । ८५ ।

उपर्युपरिनिक्षिप्ताः पत्रिकाविपचेत् सुधीः । ८६ ।

Manas. III. 1385-86.

Gram now seems to have become a favourite food as its use is recommended by Someśvara in many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes.¹ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pulse of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masūra* or *rājamudga* mixed with slightly parched *āḍbaki* pulse of which the outer covering was removed with a grinding stone and a winnowing basket. The mixture was cooked on slow fire. Water mixed with asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt was added to it.² A soup prepared with *mudga*, asafoetida, pieces of ginger, pieces of lotus stalks fried in oil or the seeds of *Priyāla* is also mentioned. Sometimes pieces of brinjal fried in oil or the pieces of meat of a sheep or jackal or the pieces of the marrow of an animal were also cooked with it. Some spices such as powder of black pepper, and dry ginger were mixed in the end.³ *Vaṭakas* prepared with *māṣa* flour, fried in clarified butter

¹ Split green grams are also mentioned in the preparation of food articles in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX. p.92

* चणका राजमाषाश्च मसूरा राजमुद्गकाः ।
 घरद्वैदलिता कार्याः पाकार्यं हि विचक्षणैः ।
 किञ्चिद्भ्रष्टास्तथावन्मयो यन्त्रावर्ते द्विभाक्ताः ।
 विदली च कृताः सम्यक् शूर्पकैवितुषीकृताः । ६० ।
 स्यात्पा शीतोदकं क्षिप्त्वा विदलै सममानतः ।
 भ्रावपेद्विदलान्पद्वाच्चुल्यामारोपयेत्ततः । ६१ ।
 मूढग्निपच्यमानेज्जतं हिणुतोयं विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 वचसि रजनीचूर्णमीयन्तत्र नियोजयेत् । ६२ ।
 मुहुर्मुहुर्क्षिपेत्तोयं यावत्पाकस्य पूर्णता ।
 सुलक्षणं सैन्धवं कृत्वाविशतर्पणेन निक्षिपेत् । ६३ ।

Manas. III. 1359-63.

* प्रक्षालितान् वरान् मुद्गान् समतोये विनिक्षिपेत् । ६७ ।
 चुल्यां मूढग्निनापाकः कर्तव्यः सुपकारकः ।
 पच्यमानेषु मुद्गेषु हिङ्गुवारिविनिक्षिपेत् । ६८ ।
 भ्राद्रकस्य च खण्डानि सूक्ष्माणि च विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 वातार्कं पाटितं तैले भृष्टं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् । ६९ ।
 तैलभृष्टा मुहुर्भूताः क्षिपेद् वा विसचक्रिकाः ।
 बीजानि प्रियालस्य क्षिप्त्वादव्याविवर्तयेत् । ७० ।

 केचिदिच्छन्ति रुच्यर्थं मेघमांसस्य खण्डकान् । ७१ ।
 दूषकान् वापिद्विधाभिन्नान् मेदसः शकलानिवा ।

Manas. III. 1367-68.

Vaṭaka—a kind of cake.

and dropped in milk were called *Ksīravaṭa*.¹ A preparation of fermented fine flour of *māṣa* made into small circular balls was called *īḍarikā*. It was fried in clarified butter, mixed with some spices such as black pepper and fumigated with asafoetida and cumin seeds.² Another preparation of *māṣa* flour was *Ghārikā*. These were round cakes with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour became red. When they had no holes they were called *Vaṭakas*. These *vaṭakas* were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds with some spices such as rock salt, ginger, coriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vaṭakas* dropped into it. Some powder of black pepper was added to it and the mixture fumigated before use.³ For preparing *vaṭikās*, *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water, the outer covering

¹ अलङ्कृतं क्षीरवटैस्तद्वनताम् रराज पाकापित गैरिकधिया ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 98.

Manasa. XIII. 1594.

दुग्ध मध्यक्षिप्तमपिसाधितैर्वटकास्यैः ।

Commentary Naiṣadha.

² See 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics', 'History of the Dishes, Idli and Dosa' by Dr. P.K. Gode in Dr. S.K. Chatterji Volume—1955.

अम्लीभूतम् माषपिष्टम् वटिकासु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

वस्त्रगर्भाभिरन्याभिः पिषाय परिपाचयेत् । ११६६ ।

अवतार्यानि मरिचं चूर्णितं विकिरेदनु ।

घृतान्तां हिंगुसर्पिण्यां जीरकेण च धूपयेत् । १४०० ।

सुशीता धवला रत्नका एता इडरिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1399-1401.

C.f. Supāsanahacariyā, p. 485.

³ तस्यैवमाषपिष्टस्य गोलकान् विस्तृतान् घनान् । १ ।

पञ्चभिः सप्तभिर्वापि छिद्रेष्व परिशीभितान् ।

तप्ततैले पचेद् यावत्स्वीहृत्य तेषु जायते । २ ।

घारिका संशया ख्याता भक्ष्येषु सुमनोहराः ।

निच्छिद्राः घारिकाः पक्वा मयिते शर्करायुते । ३ ।

एतामरिचसंयुक्ते निक्षिप्ता वटकाभिधाः ।

त एव वटकाः क्षिप्ताः काञ्चिके काञ्चिकाभिधाः । ४ ।

यत्र यत्र द्रवद्रव्ये तन्नाम्ना वटकास्तु ते ।

आरत्नालेन सान्द्रेण दग्ना सुमयितेन च ।

सन्धवारद्रकधान्याकजीरकं च विमिश्रयेत् ।

मरिचानि द्विधा कृत्वाक्षिपेत्तत्र तु पाकवित् ।

द्वयं विघट्टयन् सर्वं पचेद् यावद् घनीभवेद् ।

उत्तार्य वटकान् क्षिप्वा विकिरेन्मरिचं रजः ।

हिङ्गुना धूपयेत् सम्यग् वटकास्ते मनोभिधाः ।

Manas. III. 1401-1418.

as *veṣṭikā*.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was now used in various forms. When half the quantity was evaporated it was drunk. In case it was reduced to one third of the original quantity it became a dish that could be licked. When one sixth of the original quantity remained it was used for preparing sweets and when only one eighth remained it was called *Sarkarā*.² Milk was also used in the preparation of some sweets such as *ksiraprakāra*, *ksiravaṭa* and *ksirayaṣṭikā* of which we read for the first time.³ Curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown up were regarded as very tasty.⁴ Curds were given different names according to the quantity of water mixed.⁵ Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor were also used.⁶

Whey was taken with rock salt and some spices such as cumin

- ¹ विदलं क्षणकस्त्वैवं पूर्वसंभारसंस्कृतम् । ६२ ।
ताप्यां तैले विलिप्तायां धोसकान् विपचेद्बुधः ।
माषस्य राजमाषस्य कट्ठाणस्य च धोसकान् । ६३ ।
अनेनैव प्रकारेण विपचेत् पाकतत्त्ववित् ।

Manas. III. 1392-94.

It was the same preparation as we call *Doss* now. See reference to *Idli* above.

- ² अर्धविशिष्टं पाने स्यात् त्रिभागं लेह्यकम् ।
षड्भागं पिण्डतामेति शर्करा स्यादधःपट्टमे ।

Manas. III. 1567.

A variety of scenes common in a dairy farm in this period are described in the *Yasastilaka* (p. 184).

- ³ गुडोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीर्यष्टिकम् ।
दध्योदनं हविः पूषान्मांसं विशान्नमेव च ।

Agni. Pu. 163. 10.

- ⁴ ह्यद्विषद्वधकयणीपयःसुतं सुधाह्वान्पङ्कमिबोद्धतं वधि ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 93.

⁵ *Matbitta* were curds churned without water, *udalvit* curds with equal quantity of water and *lakṣa* with water one fourth of the quantity of curds.

- निर्जलं मथितं प्रोक्तमुदस्वित्यास्वजलार्धकम् ।
पादाम्बु तकमुद्दिष्टं धूपितं हिङ्गुजीरकैः ।
आद्रंकेण समायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम् ।

Manas. III. 1571-72.

- ⁶ मथितं शर्करायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम् ।
कर्पूरधूपितं नाम्ना मज्जिकेत्यभिधीयते ।

Manas. III. 1573.

and ginger.¹ But *Rasāḍā* continued to be the most popular preparation of curds.² *Temana* was a soup of curds.³ A special preparation of curds with black mustard was much liked.⁴ Butter was clarified with wheat and betel leaves before being used in cooking and frying food articles.⁵ Somadeva also describes the properties of clarified butter, curds, butter and milk.⁶

MEAT DIET

Along with vegetarian dishes meat preparations were quite popular. The Purāṇas prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding Brāhmaṇas in a Śrāddha.⁷ Brāhmaṇas relished the flesh

¹ स्नायितं यद्धृतं तोयं जीरकार्द्रकसन्धर्वैः।

संयुक्तं हिङ्गुधूपेन धूपितं मस्तु कीर्तितम्।

Manas. III. 1575.

² निष्पीड्य दधिवस्त्रेण स्नावयेत्तदगतं जलम्।

शर्करैलासमायुक्ता सूदैः शिखरिणी मता।

Manas. III. 1574.

C.f. Bhavisayatta XX., Kav. Mim. XVIII. p. 107.

³ कसार्थं बिलातीवणातिक्लृप्ता गृहेणपिगाढा जर्दणपियारा।

Bhavisayatta, XII.

⁴ न राजिकाराद्धमभोजि तत्रकैर्मुखेन सीत्कार कृतादधदधि।

धूतोत्तमाङ्गैः कटुभावपाटवादकाण्डकण्डूयितमूर्धतानुभिः।

Naisadha XVI. 73.

⁵ नवनीतं नवधौतं नीरलेशविवर्जितम्।

तापयेदग्निना सम्यक् मृदुनाधृतं भाण्डके।

पाके सम्पूर्णतां याते क्षिपेद् गोधूमबीजवम्।

क्षिपेत्तामूलपत्रं च पश्चादुत्तारयेदधृतम्।

Manas. III. 1577.

⁶ Yaśastilaka III. 360-63.

⁷ हव्यकव्यनियुक्तौ तु भक्ष्यौ पाठीन रोहिती।

मांसाशिमिस्त्वमीभक्ष्याः शश शल्लक कच्छपाः।१४।

श्वाविद् गोधे प्रशस्ते च ज्ञाताश्च मृगपक्षिणः।

प्रायुष्कामैः स्वर्गकामैस्त्याज्यं मांसं प्रयत्नतः।१५।

यज्ञार्थं पशुहिंसा या सा स्वर्गा नैतरा क्वचित्।

.....

प्राणायामे कृतौ श्राद्धे भेषजे विप्रकाम्यया।

अलीत्यमित्थं पल्लं भक्षयन्नेव दोषभाक्।१७।

मखार्थं ब्रह्मणा सृष्टाः पशुद्रुममृगीपक्षीः।

निष्कृन्नहिंसको विप्रस्तातामपि शुभागतिः।१८।

पितृदेवक्रतुकृते मधुपर्कार्थमेव च।

तत्र हिंसाप्यहिंसास्यादधिसान्यत्रमुपुस्तस्य।

Skanda. Pu. Kāsi. 4. 14-20.

C.f. Agni Pu. 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21., Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 40-4.

of buffaloes and took dressed fish.¹ The Kṣatriyas enjoyed eating meat preparations such as dressed fish, roasted sheep.² Sometimes meat was so dressed that it resembled the shape of a *Bimba* fruit.³ Fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were very much liked.⁴ In the cold season people relished eating pork along with newly husked rice while the essence of deer and quails is mentioned among the dainties used in the summer season.⁵

Many animals such as sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, ring doves, francolin doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food.⁶ People generally abstained from the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs.⁷ But in times of scarcity even the flesh of forbidden animals was used for food.⁸ Someśvara describes in detail how meat should be dressed and flesh of which part of the body should be used and of which part avoided. The method of removing the hair of a pig is also described.⁹ He describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes. *Suṣṭhākas* were prepared from the body of a pig roasted on fire. After roasting, the body was cut into pieces and the pieces again roasted on charcoals.

¹ Samaraicakāhā pp. 258, 260, 475.

² Ibid. pp. 258, 262.

Kumārāpāla was much addicted to flesh eating in his youth and during his wanderings he chiefly maintained himself on flesh.

ब्राह्मणादितुह्येव निष्पन्नं तं बल्लहोमह्यं ।

महसाहिज्जेन तया कथाइदं तराइतए ।

Moharājaparājaya.

³ इतीरिणे बिम्बफलं पलच्छलाददायिबिम्बाधरशरत्त्वत्तत् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 95.

⁴ व्यधुस्तमां ते मृगमांससाधितं रसावशित्वा मृदुतेमनं मनः ।

निशाधवोत्सङ्गकुरङ्गजैरदः पलेः सपीयूषजलेः किमश्रि ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 76.

अराधि यन्मीनमृगाजपत्रिजैः पलेर्मृदुस्वादु सुगन्धितेमन्म् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 87.

⁶ सहकाररसाचिता रसाला जलभक्तं फलपाकानिमन्थाः ।

मृगलावरसाः सूतं च दुग्धं स्मर सञ्जीवनमौषधं निदाघे ।

Kav. Mim. XVIII. 107.

⁶ Al Masudi.

⁷ Al Beruni Ch. 68.

⁸ Kathāsaritsāgara. III. 9-10.

⁹ Mānasollāsa. III. 15. 43-47.

They were eaten with rock salt and black pepper.¹ Sometimes a broth was also prepared with *Sunthakas*. The broth was fumigated with aromatic spices.² *Sunthakas* were sometimes cut into pieces resembling palm leaves. These pieces were dropped into curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices were added. Pulp of citron was also mixed with *Sunthakas* and they were eaten after fumigation. In this form they were known as *Cakkealikā*.³ Sometimes green gram was pounded with spices. The whole thing was fried after mixing with good pieces of flesh. Tender *Nispāva*, berries, pieces of onions and garlic were mixed with the fried mixture. The whole thing was dropped in some sour juice and fumigated before eating.⁴ Flesh of sheep, carved into the

- ¹ आजानु सन्धि मूलाद्भिन्नतृणैः प्रच्छाद्य तं दहेत् । ३०।
कठिनत्वमुपायात् शालयेन्निर्मलैः जलैः ।
पाण्डुरं विससङ्काशं संस्थापितं कटे । ३१।
आमूर्धं प्रस्थापयति कर्मिकापरिपाटितम् ।
सारीफलकरेखाम्याचितदध्वतस्यायाम् शुण्ठकान् । ३२।
चतुरस्रीकृतान्खण्डान् शूलप्रोतान् प्रतापयेत् ।
अङ्गारेषु प्रभूतेषु घृतं विन्दुलवावधि । ३३।
पश्चान्मरिचवर्णनं विकिरेत्संघवततः ।
अथवाम्लपरिस्विन्नान् पूर्ववत् परिकल्पयेत् । ३४।
अथवा दारितान्कृत्वात्वक् शोषान्खण्डान्वितान् ।
भृज्जेदङ्गारपुञ्जेषु शुण्ठकान्मृतोपमान् । ३५।

Manas. III. 1430-35.

- ² प्रक्षिप्यशुण्ठकांस्तत्र मृदुकुर्वाच्च पाकतः ।
भाविताश्चरसैः सर्वैः सिद्धान्तारयेद् बुधः ।

Manas. III. 1447-48.

- ³ स्विन्नानां शुण्ठकानां च मेदोभागं प्रगृह्य च ।
ताडपत्रसमाकाराः कृत्वा चक्कलिकाः शुभाः । ३६।
मथिते शर्करायुक्ते दधन्येलाविमिश्रिते ।
कर्पूरवासिते तत्र रुच्याश्चक्कलिकाः क्षिपेत् । ३७।
मांसमेदोमथान्शुण्ठान् पूर्ववच्छकलीकृतान् ।
मथिते राजिकायुक्ते मातुलिङ्गककेसरैः । ३८।
धूपिते हिङ्गुना सम्यक् ध्वजिचक्कलिकाः क्षिपेत् ।
घृते वा चक्कलीभूत्वा किरेदेला सशर्कराम् । ३९।
अथवा मातुलिङ्गस्य सुपक्वस्य च केसरैः ।
सूक्ष्मैरार्द्रकखण्डैश्च केसराम्लमनोहरैः । ४०।
चणितं मरिचं राजिसैन्धवैर्मिश्रयेत्ततः ।
हिङ्गुना धूपिताः साम्ला हृद्याश्चक्कलिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1436-41.

- ⁴ चणकस्य समान् खण्डान्कल्पयित्वा विचक्षणः ।
निशा जीरक तीक्ष्णाद्यैःशुण्ठीधान्यक हिङ्गुभिः । ४१।
चूर्णितैर्मैलयित्वा तांस्तततैले विनक्षिपेत् ।
समानार्द्रकखण्डाश्च चणकान् हरितानपि । ४२।

shape of plums mixed with some powdered spices and grams and fried in oil with the pieces of such vegetables as brinjal, radish, onions, ginger and sprouted *mudga* beans, was known as *Kavacandi*.¹ Pieces of clean meat chopped into the form of big *Āmalakas* were cooked with spices. This liquid preparation was again cooked with some acid fruits, *śunṭhakas*, spices and rock salt. It was then fumigated with spices such as garlic and asafoetida. This preparation was known as *Puryāḍ*.²

When pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes and filled with spices, were roasted on spits and some spices were mixed with them they were called *Bhāḍitraka*. Sometimes *Bhāḍitrakas* were dried after cooking and then fried in ghee.³ Flesh

श्लक्ष्णमांसं क्षिपेत्कोलं निष्पावान्कोमलानपि ।
पलाण्डुकलान्वापि लशुनंवाऽपि निक्षिपेत् ।५१।
एवं पूर्वोदितं सूदः प्रयुञ्जीत यथाशक्ति ।
शोषितेऽम्लरसे पश्चात् सिद्धमुत्तार्यधूपयेत् ।५२।

Manas. III. 1449-52.

¹ बदराकारकान् खण्डान् पूर्ववच्चूर्णमिश्रितान् ।
आद्रांस्तत् प्रमाणादथ पक्वतैले निपावयेत् ।५३।
वाताक्षिकलादथैव मूलकस्य च खण्डकान् ।
पलाण्डुवार्दक सम्भूतान् मुद्गाङ्कुर विनिर्मितान् ।५४।
वटकाभिक्षिपेत्तत्र मेषकस्य च चूर्णकम् ।
कासमर्देन संयुक्तं पलान्यन्यानि कानिचित् ।५५।
सुसिद्धं वासयेद्दूर्पेनानारसविमिश्रितम् ।
नानाद्रव्यसमेता सा कवचन्दी भवेच्छुभा ।५६।

Manas. III. 1453-56.

² स्थूलामलकसङ्काशान् शुद्धमांसस्य खण्डकान् ।
क्वाथयेद्वाजिका तोयनगिराद्रकसंयुतः ।५७।
आस्थापयेत्तज्जलं पात्रे रिक्तं चाम्लैर्विपाचयेत् ।
तत्समाञ्शुण्डकान् क्षिप्त्वा सन्धवं तत्रयोजयेत् ।५८।
मेधाकचूर्णकं तत्र घान्याकस्य च पुलिकाम् ।
निक्षिप्योत्तारयेत्सूदो घृतं वाग्यत्रतापयेत् ।५९।
सुतप्ते च घृते पश्चाल्लशुनं हिङ्गुनासह ।
प्रक्षिप्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् ।६०।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्यात् किञ्चित् कालं प्रतीक्ष्य च ।
उत्तारयेत्ततः सिद्धं पुर्यलाख्यमिदंवरम् ।६१।

Manas. III. 1457-61.

³ पूष्ठवंशसमुद्भूतं शुद्धं मांसं प्रगृह्यते ।
घनसारप्रमाणानि कुत्वा खण्डानि मूलकैः ।६२।
विध्वानु बहुशस्तानि बहुरग्राणि कारयेत् ।
हिङ्गुवार्दकरसैर्युक्तं सन्धवेन च पेषयेत् ।६३।
शूलप्रोतानि कुत्वा तान्यङ्गारेषु प्रतापयेत् ।
घृतेन सिञ्चेत् पाकजो वारं वारं विवर्तयेत् ।६४।
सिद्धेषु मारिचं चूर्णं विकिरेत् सन्धवान्वितम् ।

of sheep dressed into the shape of betel nuts with some blood was known as *Kṛṣṇapāka*.¹ *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with roasted and spiced meat inside were called *Bhūṣikā*. Sometimes these *Vaṭakas* were covered with grains of rice and roasted and called *Koṣali*.² Sometimes fruits such as brinjal were filled with pasted meat and fried in oil.³ Pasted meat was also formed into the shape of balls and roasted on fire or fried in oil. Liver of an animal was also cooked with some spices and called *Pañca-*

नाम्ना भडित्रकं रुच्यं लघुपथ्यं मनोहरम् । ६५।

.....
शोषयित्वाद्रव्यं सर्वं घृतेन परिभ्रजयेत् ।

सिपेच्च मरिचं भृष्टे सूदोहण्डभडित्रके । ६८।

Manas. III. 1462-65.

¹ पूगीफलप्रमाणानि कृत्वा खण्डानि पूर्ववत् ।

संस्क्रुयात् पूर्ववच्चूर्णैरम्लैश्च परिपाचयेत् । ७३।

स्तोकावशेषपाकेस्मिन् न्यस्तं रक्तं विनिसिपेत् ।

पूर्णे पाके समुत्तार्य धूपयेद्विज्जुवीरकैः । ७४।

कर्पूरचूर्णकं तस्मिन् एलाचूर्णेन संयुज्जम् ।

विकिरेन्मरिचैर्युक्तं कृष्णपाकमिदं वरम् । ७५।

Manas. III. 1473-75.

² अङ्गारभृष्टकं मांसं शुद्धे पट्टे निधापयेत् ।

कर्तार्या तिलशः कृत्वा मातुलिङ्गस्य केशरैः । ७६।

आद्रकैः केसराम्लैश्च गृज्जनैस्तत् प्रमाणिकैः ।

जीरकैर्मरिचैः पिष्टैः हिङ्गुसैन्धवचूर्णकैः । ७७।

मिश्रयित्वा तु तन्मांसं हिङ्गुधूपेन वासयेत् ।

आमं मांसं च पेषय्या हिङ्गुतोयेन सेचितम् । ७८।

.....
चूर्णितं च यन्मांसं गोलकैस्तद् त्रिवेष्टयेत् ।

चूर्णगर्भांश्च वटकान् प्रक्षिपेदाणके शुभे । ८०।

ख्यातास्ते मांसवटका रुच्या दृश्या मनोहरा ।

त एव वटकास्तैलपक्वाः स्युर्भूषिकाभिधाः । ८१।

तदेव चूर्णितं मांसं कणिकापरिवेष्टितम् ।

अङ्गारेषु तथा भृष्टं कोशलीति निगद्यते । ८२।

Manas. III. 1476-1482.

³ वार्ताकं वृत्तदेशस्य समीपे कृतरुध्रकम् ।

निष्कासितेषु बीजेषु तेन मासेन पूरितम् । ८३।

तैलेन पाचितं किञ्चिदाणके परिपाचयेत् ।

पूरभट्टाकसंज्ञं तत्स्वादुना परिपाचयेत् । ८४।

कोशातकीफलेष्वेवं मूलकस्य च कन्दकैः ।

पूरिते चूर्णमासेन तत्तन्नाम्ना तु कथ्यते । ८५।

Manas. III. 1483-1485.

varni.¹ *Sunphakas* were also prepared with entrails.² The entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal were called *mandaliya*.³ Liver chopped in the shape of betel nuts and roasted on charcoals and fried with spices was also used by dropping these pieces into a solution of black mustard or curds.⁴ Dried and roasted meat such as seasoned fish, roasted tortoises, fried crabs and a tasty meat soup, all were used as food.⁵

¹ आमं मांसं सुषिष्टं तु केसरादिविमिश्रितम् ।
वटकीकृत्य तैलेन तप्तेन परिपाचयेत् । ८६ ।
आणके च क्षिपेत्तत्रस्तापयेद्वा विभावसी ।
नाम्ना वट्टिमकं तत्तु विप्रकारमुदीरितम् । ८७ ।
अन्त्राणि खण्डशः कृत्वा कालखण्डं तथाकृतम् ।
वारिप्रक्षालितं कृत्वा खण्डितान् समरूपतः । ८८ ।
राजिकाकल्कदिग्धांस्तांस्तोयमिश्रान् विपाचयेत् ।

.....
किञ्चिच्छेवं द्रवं तत्तु समुत्तार्य विधूपयेत् ।
पञ्चवर्णीति विख्याता नानारूपसावहा । ११ ।

Manas. III. 1486-1491.

² अन्त्राणि जलघातानि शूलयष्ट्यां विवेष्टयेत् ।
तापयेच्च तथाङ्गारैर्यावत् कठिनतां ययुः । १४६२ ।
पश्चाद्विचूर्णितं श्लक्ष्णं सैन्धवं तेषु योजयेत् ।
अन्त्रशुष्कमाख्यातं चर्वणे मर्मरारब्धम् । १४६३ ।

Manas. III. 1492-93.

³ भेदतः श्लक्ष्णखण्डानि क्षिप्त्वा सर्वविलोडयेत् । १६५ ।
अन्त्रं प्रक्षालितं यत्नात्तेन रक्तेन पुरितम् ।
पेटकाकृति युक्ता सुकम्भासु परिवेष्टयेत् । १६६ ।
कम्भाम्बुलानि बध्नीयात् केवलैरन्त्रकैस्तथा ।
तैरेव रज्जुसङ्काशैर्गृहीत्वोपरि तापयेत् । १६७ ।
अङ्गारैः किशुकाकारैर्यावत् काठिन्यमाप्नुयुः ।
मण्डलीयं समाख्याता राजवृक्षफलोपमा । १६८ ।

Manas. III. 1494-1498.

⁴ अङ्गारेषु तथाभूष्ट्वा कालखण्डं विकृत्य च ।
पुगीफलप्रमाणेन खण्डान् कृत्वा विचक्षणः । ११५०२ ।
तैलेनाभ्यञ्ज्य तान् सर्वान् गरिजाजाजिसैन्धवैः ।
चूर्णितैर्विकिरेत् पश्चादधिगुधूपेन धूपयेत् । ३ ।
अनेन विधिना भूष्ट्वा राजिकाकल्पलेपितान् ।
कालखण्डान् प्रकुर्वीत दध्ना राजिकयायवा । ४ ।

Manas. III. 1499-1504.

⁵ क्रोडदेशोद्भवं मांसमस्या सह विश्लिष्टम् ।
अंतकीकृतसंयुक्तं पार्श्वकुल्या समन्वितम् । ७ ।
.....
उत्क्वाथितमिदं सुपंख्यातं शास्त्रविधारदैः । ११५०६ ।
मत्स्यादिच खण्डशः कृत्वा चतुरङ्गुलं सम्मितान् ।
लवणेन समाबुतान् कुम्भेषु परिपूरयेत् । ३३ ।
.....

From the above account and description of the food habits of the Tāntrikas in the Yaśastilaka¹ and other contemporary works it is obvious that meat eating was common in certain sections of the society, specially, perhaps among the Kṣatriyas. But we find also large sections of society which had taken to vegetarianism partly on religious and partly perhaps also on hygienic grounds. Among such people even when an animal was to be sacrificed in a religious rite to propitiate a god it was replaced by the image of an animal made of flour.² Somadeva wonders how people who seek their own welfare hope to increase their own flesh with the flesh of others. Just as one's own life is dear to one, similarly the life of another is dear to him. One should, therefore, refrain from destroying animal life.³ According to him animals must not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicinal purposes.⁴ Similar ideas are expressed by another Jain writer Amitagati who considers taking poison better than meat eating.⁵ Even some of the Purāṇas of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices

भोजनावसरे सूक्ष्मं वह्निना परिभर्जयेत् । ३४ ।

कच्छरान् वह्निना भृष्ट्वा पादाश्छत्काश्च मोचयेत् । ३७ ।

अम्लकैश्च विपच्याथ तैलेन आज्येन वा पुनः ।

पाचयेच्च सुसिद्धांस्तान् चूर्णकैरवचूर्णयेत् । ३६ ।

Manas, III. 1507-1539.

Also see Manas. III. 1540-1542.

¹ Description of the temple of Caṇḍamārī known as Mahābhairava in Book I.

² Samaraicca Kahā, pp. 210-213.

Yaśastilaka Book IV. *Caṇḍamārī* persuades Yaśodharā to sacrifice a cock made out of flour.

³ तत् स्वस्य हितमिच्छन्तोमुञ्चन्तश्चाहितं मुहुः ।

अन्यमांसैः स्वमांसस्य कथं वृद्धिविधायिनः ।

स्वकीयं जीवितं यद्वत् सर्वस्य प्राणिनः प्रियम् ।

तद्वदेतत्परस्यापि ततो हिंसापरित्यजेत् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

⁴ देवतार्थं पित्रर्थं मन्त्रीपथमयाय वा ।

न हिंस्यात् प्राणिनां सर्वानहिंसानाम् तद्व्रतम् ।

Yaśastilaka p. 335.

⁵ वरं विषमं भक्षितमुद्यदोषं यदेकवारं कुरुतेऽमुनाशम् ।

मांसं महादुःखमनेकवारम् ददाति जन्मम् मनसापि पुंसाम् ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha 21.16.

in the Kali age.¹ They prescribe the use of *māṣa* beans instead of meat preparations.² On the authority of Al Masudi we can say that the Brāhmanas generally avoided meat diet. Al. Idrisi states that the people of Anhilwārā ate rice, pea beans, *māṣa*, *masūra*, and fish and animals which had died a natural death because they did not kill birds and animals.³ Rājaśekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people.⁴ It is stated that king Kumārapāla prohibited slaughter of animals under severe penalties and he himself built Tribhuvanvihāra and thirty-two other temples for expiation of the sin of flesh eating to which he was addicted before his conversion to Jainism.⁵

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey was not so widely used as in the previous period. The Purāṇas mention *gūḍa* (treacle) and raw sugar (*sarkarā*) and not honey among the sweet things.⁶ The Jains avoided the

परमारितजीवानां पिशितं योषि खादति ।
इहामुत्र च दुःखानां पढतेः सोऽपिभाजनम् ।
यैस्त्रिविधमंबुद्धयैव भक्ष्यते स्वर्गकाम्यया ।
कालकूटं विषमनूनमद्युस्ते जीविताधिनः ।

Upamitibhavaprapaṇica kathā, p. 627.

- ¹ नदद्यादामिषं श्राद्धे न चाद्यादमंतत्ववित् ।
मुन्यन्नैः स्यात्पराप्रीतिर्यथा न पशुहितया ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 15.7.

- ² अतो माषाश्वमेवैतन्मांसार्थे ब्रह्मणाकृतम् ।
पितरस्तेनत्प्यन्ति श्राद्धं कुर्वन् न तद्विना ।
यथा बलिष्ठं मांसं त्वान्माषाश्वमपि तत्समम् ।
सौगन्धिकं च स्वादिष्टं मधुरं द्रव्यं भवेदतः ।

Prajāpati Sm. 152-53.

- ³ History of Medieval India Book 2, p. 192.

- ⁴ इशुदण्डस्य मण्डस्यदध्नः पिष्टकृतस्य च ।
वाराहस्य च मांसस्य सैष गच्छति काल्पुनः ।

Kāvyaṃīmāṃsā VIII. p. 39.

- ⁵ एवं रायणाकाराविदंति ह्युपनिहारुतिवेजलं ।

Moharājaparājaya IV. p. 93.

- ⁶ मूलश्च पञ्चमाहुर्ध्वमन्नतः सन्नतोऽपि वा ।
पायसेन गुडेनापि पिण्डान् दद्याद् दशकृत्वात् ।

Garuḍa Pu. 10.96.

गुडाद्यं शान्तिमाप्नोति क्षीरेण च तथायुतम् ।
पद्मरागसमं वर्णं चांशुमत्प्याः प्रजायते ।

Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.8.

C.f. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 314. 11-12.

गुडशर्करास्य ण्डयो देवं फणितमूर्ध्वम् ।

गव्यं पयो दधि घृतं तैलञ्च तिलसंभवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

use of honey on the ground that it was pressed out of the young eggs in the womb of bees and resembled the embryo in the first stage of its growth.¹ The *Paṇḍra* variety of sugarcane was grown near Rājagṛha.² Sugar is also mentioned as an important article of food in the Ambaśamudra Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya (ninth century A.D.) In the *Naiṣadha Carita* the whiteness of sugar has been compared to a stream of snow.³

The act of preparing sweets is considered an art⁴ and many new sweets are mentioned. *Kāsāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, crystal sugar, cardamom and black pepper.⁵ A preparation of wheat flour stuffed with *kāsāra* was called *udumbara*.⁶ A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *gūḍa* and some spices such as black pepper and cardamom was called *murmura*.⁷ *Modakas* prepared with rice flour, sugar and some aromatic spices such as cardamom and camphor were called *Varṣopalagolakas* because they looked like hailstones.⁸ Some-

¹ मक्षिकागर्भसंभूतबालाण्डविनिर्णीडनात् ।

जातं मधुकथंसन्तःसेवन्ते कलसाकृतिः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 331.

² Raviṣeṇa—Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II.

³ अनीभिराकण्ठमन्नोजि तद्गृहे तुषारधारा मृदितेवशर्करा ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 93.

⁴ Śukranīti. IV. 3. 143.

⁵ ता केर ऊण कंसारतालपुड्ड संजुयविसमोयगं गोसे उवणेमिएयाणम् ।

Samaraicca. p. 187.

सुसंमिश्रो कासारो ।

Samaraicca. p. 189.

कसारं सुसारं सुहाली मणुज्जा ।

Bhavisayatta XII. 3.

गोधूमचूर्णादिद्वय शूर्पेणाम्याहतान् कणान् । ८६ ।

दुग्धाक्तान् घृतपक्वांश्च सितया च विमिश्रितान् ।

एलामरिचचूर्णेन युक्तान् कासारसंसितान् ।

Manas. III. 1386-87.

⁶ गोलकेन समावेष्ट्य तैलेनोदुम्बरान् पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1388.

⁷ गुडमरिचैलामिश्रो गोधूमस्थूलचूर्णाधिकारः मुर्मुरः ।

Commentary Brahma Pu.

⁸ शोषितायां सितयां तु क्षीरं संमिश्रयेत् समम् । १५ ।

खरपाकावधिर्यावत् तत्क्वाथयेत् पुनः ।

उत्तार्य नागरं तीक्ष्णमेलाकर्पूरकेशरैः । १६ ।

निक्षिप्य गोलकाः कार्या नाम्ना वर्षोलकास्तु ते ।

Manas. III. 1415-17.

times dolls were also made with sugar (*Sarkari putrikā*).¹ *Ghṛta-pāra*, *Phenakas*, *Khajjakas* and *Laddukas* continued to be popular.² Sometimes they were also prepared with rice or *mudga* pulse.³ In the preparation of *Kṣīraprakāra* sour curds were mixed with boiled milk and the solid part of curds was separated from the liquid one. The solid curds were mixed with rice flour and sweets were prepared in different shapes. Possibly they were same as modern *Camcams* and *rasagullās*.⁴ Another sweet prepared with milk was called *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*.⁵

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the spices mentioned earlier were used for seasoning.⁶ It seems a good lunch always consisted of some condiments (*avadamśa*).⁷ *Vyañjana* is used in the sense of a special prepara-

प्रविवर्धोपलगोलकावली।

Naisadha. XVI. 100.

एताकूपूरशर्करालवङ्गलपिष्टरचितानां गोलकानामतिदुत्तानालङ्कृक्विशेषाणाम्।

Commentary on the above.

¹ Naisadha XV. 104.

² वेउरापिवचहुतरिय खंडयाचाउजाय।
सुहपाय मडियसोयवट्टि फिणीओमंडिया।

Vilāsavati.

Kathākośa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra p. 58.

गुणाधारियालङ्कृष्टा खीरखज्जा।

Bhavisayatta. XII. 3.

Kathākośa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra p. 58.

मोषणभुंजाविडसुहचारिहि छडरसलङ्कृष्टपयारिहि।

Bhavisayatta. V. 11.

Naisadha XVI. 103.

³ पायसं शालिमुद्गादयं मोदकादींश्च भक्षितः।

पूरिकाश्च रसालाश्च गोक्षीरञ्च नियोजयेत्।

Brahma Pu.

⁴ दुग्धमुत्सवाध्य तन्मध्वे तन्ममलं विनिक्षिपेत्॥८॥

हित्वा तोयं घनीभूतं वस्त्रबद्धं पृथक्कृतम्।

शालितण्डुलपिष्टेन मिश्रितम् परिपचितम्॥९॥

नानाकारैः सुषट्ठितं सपिषा परिपाचितम्।

पक्वशर्करया सिक्तमेलाचूर्णेन वासितम्।

क्षीरप्रकारनामेदं भक्ष्यं मूढ्यं मनोहरम्।

Manas III. 1408-1411.

⁵ Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 164.

⁶ कंकोलकैलामरिचायुतानाम् जातीतरुणां च स जम्भभूमिः।

Kav. Mim. p. 224.

C.f. Manas. XIII. 1442-50.

⁷ मध्वपि नानवदंशं स्वदते।

Kavy. mim. x. 134.

tion in the *Mānasollāsa* in which water used for washing rice was mixed with tamarind, butter milk, crystal sugar, powder of cardamom and juice of ginger. It was used after fumigation with asafoetida.¹ In preparing *Pralebha*, curds, and juices of fruits such as tamarind, pomegranates, myrobalan, citron or *amlavetasa* were used. Some fragrant spices such as coriander, asafoetida, cumin, turmeric, ginger, pepper and salt were mixed with the fruit juices. The mixture was cooked on a slow fire with some oil.² A special variety of *praleba* was prepared with *śūraṇa*, ginger, butter milk and oil.³ Sour gruel was sometimes used after fumigation.⁴ It appears that some pickles were also used.⁵

OILS

Mustard oil⁶ and sesamum oil⁷ were more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles than in the previous period. Even in a *Śrāddha* the use of sesamum oil is permitted.⁸ The

¹ तण्डुलक्षालितं तोयं चिञ्चाम्लेन विमिश्रितम् ।
ईषत्तन्नेन संयुक्तं सितया सह योजितम् ।
एलाचूर्णसमायुक्तमाद्रकस्य रसेन च ।
धूपितं हिङ्गुना सम्यक् व्यञ्जनं परिकीर्तितम् ।

Manas. III. 1578-79.

² दध्ना विमिश्रयेष्विञ्चा किंवा दाडिमसारकम् ।
अथवामलकपिष्टं मेलयेद् दाम्लवेतसम् । ४२ ।
रसं वा मातुलिङ्गस्य रसं दन्तशठस्य च ।
मिश्रयेद् वा रसानेतान् द्वित्रानपि यथाशुचि । ४३ ।
गन्धार्य धान्यकं हिङ्गुजीरकतत्र निक्षिपेत् ।
हरिद्रां चैव वर्णार्यं सुसूक्ष्मं च तथाद्रकम् । ४४ ।
शण्यर्थं विश्वमरिचं सन्धवं च विनिक्षिपेत् ।
गालयेत् सितवस्त्रेण किञ्चित् तैलं विमिश्रयेत् । ४५ ।
मृदःस्थाल्यां विनिक्षिप्य दर्बीघट्टनपूर्वकम् ।
प्रलेहकं मृदावग्नौपचेत् पाकविशारदः ।

Manas. III. 1442-46.

³ Naiṣadha XVI. 86.

⁴ सोवीरं निर्मलं साम्लं लवणेन च संयुतम् ।
हिङ्गुना जीरकेणापि धूपितं धूपकाञ्जिकम् ।

Manas. III. 1588.

⁵ संधानं पानकं धान्यं पुष्पं मूलं फलं दलम् ।
जीवयोनि न संग्राह्यं यच्च जीवैरुपद्रुतम् ।

Yasastilaka. p. 335.

⁶ Sukraniti. IV. 7. 159-66.

⁷ Sukraniti. IV. 107-108, 110-112.

⁸ गुडशर्करमत्स्यव्यूहो देयं फणितमुर्मुरम् ।
गव्यपयोदधि धृततैलञ्चतिलं संभवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

poor people in the south used linseed oil.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The common fruits in use were oranges, grapes, dates, cocoanuts, pomegranates, *karamarda*, mango, *lakuca*, banana, bread fruits and *kapittba*.¹ Many beverages were prepared from fruit juices.² The Jains avoided five kinds of fruits such as *udumbara*, *asvattha*, *plakṣa* and *nyagrodha* which are the breeding ground of various living organisms, visible and invisible.³

Fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables.⁴ *Pāṭhā*, *śūṣā*, *śafī*, *vāstuka* and *sumiṣaṇṇaka* were the common pot herbs.⁵ Other vegetables in common use as before, were bottle gourd, cucumber, radish, brinjal and onions.⁶ Mustard stalks were generally eaten in winter.⁷ Somadeva praises a number of vegetables including

¹ Pauma-caritū III, Karpūramajjarī pp. 255, 263, Sandeśārāsaka 56, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā XVIII. p. 103, 106, Śukranīti, Naisadha XVI. 95, Amba Samudra Inscription of Varaguna Pandya, Bhavisayatta Kahā II. 3, XII. 3.

² See Chapter VII. F.D.A.I. p. 225.

³ मद्यमांस मधुलागाः सहोदुम्बरपञ्चकाः ।

अष्टावेते गृहस्थानामुक्तामूलगुणाःश्रुते । पू० ३२७।

अश्वत्थोदुम्बरपक्ष न्यग्रोधादि फलेष्वपि ।

प्रत्यक्षाः प्राणितःशूलः सूक्ष्माश्चागमगोचराः । पू० ३३०।

Yāśastilaka pp. 327 and 330.

⁴ फलशाकं पत्रशाकं कन्दशाकं च मूलकम् ।

पुष्पशाकं शिम्बिशाकं पक्वापलवविभेदतः ।

Manas. III. 1548.

⁵ पाठाशूषाशटीशाकं वास्तुकं सुनिषण्णकम् ।

विवर्धन्मवसंसिचो भेदि तु वास्तुकम् ।

मण्डूकपर्णी पालश्म्याचिल्लिकाचाप्यपोदका ।

चाङ्गरी हिलमोषा च कलम्बीशाकजातयः ।

Kaśirasvāmī on Amar. 165.

⁶ Manas. III. 1555-64.

अर्धरद्धाक्षामूलफलप्रकारम्, ईपत्स्विन्न कर्कारु, अवालमालूरमूलक ..

..... अमृष्टचिमेंटिका, अपक्वाकांभिदम नरङ्गिणीफल, अगस्ति-

चूताम्रातक पिचुगन्ध कन्दल, बृहती वार्तिक फल सोमाञ्जन कन्द सालत

एरण्ड फलपलाण्डुमुण्डिकाम्बरम् उच्छूनोदेल्लित वल्ल करालकको कुन्दोदुम्बरम् अनल्प-

राजिका बज्रितावन्तिसोमावसानम्

Yāśastilaka Book III, p. 404

(959 A.D.)

⁷ बराहवध्राणिनवोदनानि दधीनि सन्नद्धशराणि चान्न ।

सुकोमलाः सर्वपकन्दलीश्च भुक्त्वा जनानिन्दितवैद्यविद्याम् ।

Kav. Mīm. p. 245.

slices of fresh ginger.¹ According to Kalhana some people avoided the use of onions and garlic because cut onions resembled flesh and eating garlic was a foreign innovation.² Some vegetables such as *cirbhita* were cut into pieces dried and fried in oil or ghee to be taken as dainties.³

The vegetable preparations of the south are mentioned in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. *Kaykkari* was prepared with some vegetables and spices such as pepper, mustard and salt. *Pulinggari* was a preparation of horsegram and plantain fruit. Boiled curry (*pulukkukkari*), fried curry (*povikkari*) and a liquid preparation consisting of a vegetable cooked with Bengal gram or beans were generally eaten in the south.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

It appears that the habit of drinking was found among a considerable section of Indian society in this period. Even some Brāhmaṇa youths wasted their time in the company of dancing girls who were addicted to drinking.⁴ The sons of Hatis-chandra by a Kṣatriya wife are called *madhupāyina* (addicted to drinking).⁵ Some women are described as intoxicated with

¹ बालं वृत्ताकं कोहलं कारवेल्लं चिल्ली जीवन्ती वास्तुलस्तण्डुलीयः।

सद्यः संभृष्टाः पर्वटाश्चर्मटान्ताः किंस्वलोकैश्चेत्फालपस्वादकस्य।

Yasastilaka III. 356.

² Stein-Rājatarāṅgiṇī Book I, p. 342.

³ *Kaccarā or kaccari*

पुणोकच्चरा पण्डा दिन्नमेया

जयं ताजं कोवन्नरा दिव्यतेया।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

तिडिसं कच्चरं श्रवश्रवोदया

दिन्नतुंडीरिया संड संजोदया।

Vilāsavati.

⁴ क्षवपुरोडाशपवित्रितवेदपदोद्गारगर्भवदनंते।

वचच मदिरासववासितवारवधूमूसरसास्वादः।

Kuṭṭanīmatam. 414.

⁵ तेन श्री हरिश्चन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा।

द्वितीयाक्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुल गुणान्विता।

प्रतिहारा द्विजामृता ब्राह्मण्या ये भवन्सुतः।

राज्ञी भद्राच यान् सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः।

Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (V.S. 894) verses No. 7-8
E.I. Vol. XVIII. p. 95.

C.f. Vanarāja was much addicted to drinking.

वनराजस्याहं बहुमतोऽभूवमित्युपस्थितममुना।

इयंभवलहरे सुचिरं जावुककड रायनालिभो।

Moharājapārājaya IV. 47.

drinking.¹ Women liked the *vārūṇī* variety of wine.² Drinking wine after partaking of pepper and betel leaves was, according to Rājāśekhara, the general practice among the ladies of the south.³ Somadeva gives an interesting account of a drinking place in his Kathāsaritsāgara.⁴ In the Śukranītisāra distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended.⁵ On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common especially among Kṣatriyas.⁶ Medhātithi also says that while Brāhmaṇa women did not drink wine at festivals, Kṣatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on festive occasions.⁷ Courtezans and Tāntrikas were, no doubt, addicted to drinking.⁸

There were, as before, four important sources from which intoxicating liquors were prepared treacle, cereals, *madhūka* flowers and some fruits.⁹ But the most common varieties in use were

¹ मदिरारामस्तवनिता । The description of Rājagṛha in the Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II by Raviṣeṇa (834 V.S.).

² कान्तोच्छिष्टा वारुणी वारिमिश्राः ।

Karpūra Mañjarī, p. 256.

³ पिबन्त्यास्वाद्य मरिचं ताम्बूलविशदं मुलैः ।

प्रियाधराववंशानि मधूनि द्रमिलाङ्गनाः ।

Kav. Mim. VII. p. 39.

सपञ्चमतरङ्गिणोऽसवणसीमला वेणुणो ।

समं तिसिर वारिणा वञ्चन सीमला वारुणी ।

Karpūramañjarī IV. 6.

⁴ आपानभूमिः सज्जयेत् तदनागम्यतामिति । १२४ ।

विचित्ररत्नचषकप्रफुल्लविविधाम्बुजाम्

विकीर्णनिककुसुमामृदाननलिनीमिव । १२५ ।

व्याप्ता मत्तासवापूर्णा कलशीभिः पुरन्ध्रभिः ।

सन्वन्तीभिः सुबाहूत् बाहूत्पन्नामृतप्रभम् ।

Kathāsarit Sāgara VIII. 110.

⁵ अति मद्यं हि पिबतो बुद्धिलोपो भवेत् किल ।

प्रतिभां बुद्धिवैशद्यं धैर्यं चित्तविनिश्चयम् ।

तनोति माद्यया पीतं मद्यमन्यद् विनाशकृत् ।

Śukranīti, I. 115-116.

C.f. Śukranīti IV. 3. 141.

⁶ Naiṣadha XVI. 99.

⁷ Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 84.

⁸ Courtezans—Kumārāpāla Carita, IV. 10-21.

Tāntrikas—मज्जं पिप्पामो महिलंरमामो ।

मज्जं मंसपिज्जए खज्जए च ।

Karpūramañjarī pp. 22-23.

⁹ गीडी पेंडी च माध्वी च फलोत्पा सुरा स्मृता ।

Kṣīrasvāmī on Amar. Bhumi Śūdra 43.

those prepared from bread fruit, grapes, dates, palmyra, *madhūka* flowers, sugarcane, honey, cocoanut, cereals, *saira*, *vāruṇī*, *maireya* and *ariṣṭa*.¹

Evil effects of drinking were well known. Sukranīti condemns excessive drinking and lays down that one should not visit liquor houses nor should he sell liquor.² Somadeva condemns drinking by saying that drunkards are generally liars. Drinking is the root of all evils since it completely deludes the mind and is, therefore, the greatest of all sins. He cites the example of *Yādavas* who were ruined on account of drinking and says that drunkards are transformed into wine to delude the minds of men after a long succession of births and rebirths.³ From Alberuni's account it appears that a section of people belonging to higher castes abstained from drinking.⁴ Most of the *Dharmaśāstras* of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.⁵ According to Alberuni drinking was common among the *Sūdras*.⁶

¹ Pulastya quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on Yaj.

² *Sukranīti*. I. 115-116. See F.D.A.I. p. 222, f. n. 5.
C.f. *Sukranīti*. III. 63-64 and 242.

मांसादिषु दद्या नास्ति न सत्त्वं मद्यपायिषु ।

.....
³ सर्वदोषादयो मद्यान्महामोहकृतेर्मते ।
सर्वेषां पातकानाञ्च पुरःसरतया स्थितम् ।
हिताहितविमोहेन देहितः किं न पातकम् ।
कुर्युः संसारकान्ता परिभ्रमणकारणम् ।

Yāśastilaka. p. 327.

मद्येन यादवा नष्टा नष्टाशूतेन पाण्डवाः ।
इति सर्वत्रलोकेऽस्मिन् सुप्रसिद्धं कथानकम् ।
समुत्पद्य विपद्येह देहिनीऽनेकशः किल ।
मद्योभवति कालेन मनोमोहाय देहिनाम् ।
मद्यैकविन्दुसंपन्नाः प्राणिनः प्रचरन्ति चेत् ।
पूरयेयुर्न सयेहं समस्तमपि विष्टपम् ।

Yāśastilaka. p. 330.

C.f. *Subhāṣita Sandoha* Ch. 31.

⁴ Alberuni Ch. 68.

⁵ अग्नेयं वाय्वपेयं च तथैवास्पृश्यमेव च ।

द्विजातीनामनालोक्यं नित्यं मद्यमिति स्थितिः । ४३ ।

तस्मात् सर्वं प्रयत्नेन मद्यं नित्यं विवर्जयेत् ।

Padma Pu. Adi 56, 43-44.

⁶ Alberuni Ch. 68.

WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Somadeva lays emphasis on the proper use of water. Water is called both nectar and poison; properly used it is like nectar and used without proper care it acts like a poison.¹ Transparent water, without any taste and smell, and swept by wind and sunshine is beneficial. In all other cases water should be boiled before drinking. Water exposed to the rays of the sun and the moon should not be used longer than a day and a night, water boiled in day time should not be taken at night, and water boiled at night should not be taken in the day time.² The *Mānasollāsa* mentions all the sources of water mentioned earlier and calls water inside a cocoanut fruit *Vārkeṣa* water.³ It recommends the use of water purified with spices, such as cloves and camphor and fumigated with a piece of clay baked in fire of *khadira* wood.⁴ Sometimes flowers such as *pāṭala*, *utpala* and *campaka* were used to make drinking water fragrant.⁵ Someśvara recommends the use of rain water in the autumn season, of river water in the *Hemanta*, water of tanks in the *Śiśira*, of the pools in the spring, of a spring in summer and of wells in the rainy season. But *Harisodaka* is recommended for all seasons.⁶ Sometimes water was stored in golden jars and cooled

¹ Yaśastilaka II. 368.

² Yaśastilaka III. 370-371.

³ दिव्यान्तरिक्षं नादेयं नैर्भरम् सारसं जलम् ।
भीमं चौण्डं च ताडाकमीन्द्रिदं नवम् स्मृतम् ।

Manas. III. 1605.

वशमं केचिदिच्छन्ति वाक्षंजीवनमुत्तमम् ।
नारिकेलसमुद्भूतं स्वादु वृण्यं मनोहरम् ।

Manas. III. 1615.

⁴ कषामुस्तकं संयुक्तमेलोशीरकं चन्दनैः ।
मर्दितं मृत्तिकापिण्डं खविराङ्गारपाचितम् । १६ ।
निक्षिपेन् निर्मले तोये सर्वदोषहरे शुभे ।
कथितः पिण्डवासोऽयं सलिलेषु विचक्षणैः ।

Manas. III. 1619-20.

⁵ लवङ्गोशीरकर्पूरकान्तानलचन्दनैः ।
सलिलामयकङ्कालपथ्याकर्पूरसंयुतैः ।
विचूर्णितैः समैरेभिः सुशीतामलवारिणा ।
चूर्णाधिवासिनः प्राह ।

Manas. III. 1622-24.

⁶ दिव्यं शरदि पानीयं हेमन्ते सरिवुद्भवम् ।
शिशिरे वारि ताडागं वसन्ते सारसं पयः ।
निवासे नैर्भरं तोयं भीमं प्रावृषि पीयते ।
हंसोदकं सदा पय्यं वाक्षं पेयं यथाशुचि ।

Manas. III. 1627.

with drafts of air after fumigating it with the fire of aloe wood. It was considered very tasteful.¹

Some beverages and syrups were also in use.² Preparation of a special beverage is described in the *Mānasollāsa*. It was prepared by mixing some acid fruit juice with boiled milk. Then the liquid part was separated from the solid part. In the strained liquid sugar and powder of cardamom were mixed. The mixture was strained in a piece of cloth again and again till it became quite pure. Roasted tamarind fruit with the juice of some other fruits was mixed with this strained liquid. Similarly syrups were also prepared with other sour fruits.³

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The account of the marriage feast of Damayanti shows a very high stage of development in the art of cooking. The guests at the feast could not distinguish the vegetarian dishes from the non-vegetarian ones. The combination and method of preparation of various ingredients was so excellent that the products of one season were mistaken for those of another.⁴

Somadeva in his *Yasastilaka* refers to some fine vegetarian

Water exposed to the rays of the sun in the daytime and to those of the moon at night was called *Hamsodaka*.

¹ अकारि नीहारनिभं प्रमञ्जनावधूपि यच्चागुससारदास्मिः।

निपीय भृङ्गारक्त सङ्गि तत्र तैरर्वाणि वारि प्रतिवारमोदुशम्।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 89.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 219, f. n. 5.

Yasastilaka. p. 335.

C.f. *Viṣṇudharmottara* Pu. II. 63.12.

³ शङ्कुद्वयं समास्थाप्य बध्नीयादुज्ज्वलाम्बरम्।

प्रसार्य यष्टिभिः किञ्चित् क्षीरमम्लेन भेदितम्।८१।

सितया च समायुक्तमेलानूर्णविमिश्रितम्।

क्षिपेत् प्रसारिते वस्त्रे स्वाद्येत् पेययेत् समम्।८२।

पुनः पुनः क्षिपेत् तत्र दावाक्षिमलतां व्रजेत्।

पक्वचिञ्चाफलं भृष्टं वर्णार्थं तत्र निक्षिपेत्।८३।

यस्य कस्य फलस्यापि रसेन परिमिश्रयेत्।

तत्तन्नाम समाख्यातं पानकं पेयमुत्तमम्।८४।

Manas. III. 1581-84.

⁴ यथामये जग्मुनामिषध्रमं निरामये आमिषमोहमुहिरे।

तथा विदग्धैः परिकर्म निमित्तम् बिचित्रमेते परिहस्य भोजिताः।

Naiṣadha XVI. 81.

अनेकसंयोजनया तथाकृते निरुत्य निष्पिष्य च तादृगर्जनात्।

अमीकृताकालिकवस्तुविस्मयं जना बहुव्यञ्जनमभ्यवाहरत्।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 83.

dishes,¹ while the Mānasollāsa describes in detail some delicious meat preparations and dismisses the vegetarian dishes in one verse.² The Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa lays down that food articles should be cooked on a slow fire.³ Somadeva mentions that food articles are cooked well in a vessel that is covered and stirred.⁴

Many cooking utensils and implements are mentioned.⁵ The royal families used utensils made of precious stones, gold or silver.⁶ It was believed that food preparations served in earthen vessels tasted well but generally a king was to be served in a golden dish and golden cups.⁷ The rules about cleaning the utensils were the same as in the earlier period.⁸

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the earlier period the householder was expected to make food offerings to gods, forefathers, guests and dependants before he himself took his meals. He was not to eat anything

¹ Yaśastilaka, Book III.

² कल्पयेद् विविधैः शाकैर्मंसवत् पाककोविदः।
वटकान् पर्पटान् हृद्यान् अङ्गारैः परिभर्जयेत्।

Manas. III. 1549.

³ नात्यर्धदीप्तेन हुताशनेन नात्यन्तमन्वेन च साध्यमन्नम्।

रसं न चाप्यत्र भवेत् प्रभूतं नात्यल्पमेतत्कथितं मया ते।

Viṣṇu Dh. Pu. II. 63 113.

⁴ Yaśastilaka III. 322.

⁵ Manas. III, ch. 13, Naiṣadha. XVI., Bhavisayatta. VI. 16.

⁶ हरिश्मणेर्भोजनं भाजनेर्जपिते गताः प्रकोपं किल वारवायिकाः।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 66.

⁷ Manas. III. 1585.

⁸ तैजसानामुच्छिष्टानां गोशङ्खन्मुद्भस्मभिः। परिभर्जनमन्यतमेन वा। ३४। ताम्र-
रजतसुवर्णनाममन्त्रैः। ३५। अमत्राणां दहर्नं। ३६। वारवाणां लक्षणम्। ३७। वैणवायानां गोम-
येन। ३८। फलमयानां गोबालरज्ज्वा। ३९। कृष्णाजिनानां बिल्वतण्डलैः। ४०।

Baudhayana Sm. I. 5, 34-40.

मृण्मयं भाजनं सर्वं पुनः पाकेन शुध्यति।

मर्दमूर्त्रैः पुरीषैश्च पृथिवीं पूजयितुं। ११।

संस्पृष्टं नैव शुध्येत पुनः पाकेन मृण्मयम्।

एतैरेव तथा स्पृष्टं ताम्रसौवर्णराजतम्। १२।

शुध्यत्यावर्तितं पश्चादन्यथा केवलाम्भसा।

अम्लोदकेन ताम्रस्य सीसस्य वपुषस्तथा।

क्षारेण शुद्धिः कांसस्य लोहस्य च विनिदिशेत्। १४।

अब्जानां चैव भाण्डानां सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च।

Sankha. Sm. XVI. 1-5.

which he did not offer to the gods, manes, and guests.¹ A Brāhmaṇa was expected to feed guests even if they belonged to Vaiśya or Śudra castes.² He was also to set apart some food for low creatures.³

In this period much more emphasis on the purity of food seems to have been laid than in the previous period. Severe penances are prescribed for eating impure food⁴ and food offered by those whose food should not be accepted. Some new additions have been made to the list such as food offered by a person who has renounced the world without proper ceremony.⁵

¹ देव पित्रतिथिभ्योन्नमदत्वा नादनीयात् क्वचित्
आत्मार्यं यः पचन्मोहात्तरकार्थं, स जीवति ।

Śukra III. 134.

C.f. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. Ch. 233, 118-126 Baudhāyana Sm. II. 7.270
कालेऽन्नस्य क्षुधमवहितो दिक्षमानो विधुष्य ।
नो भोक्तव्यं प्रथममतिर्येयः सदा तिष्ठतीति ।
तस्यावपि गतमलं पुण्यराशिं ययन्तम् ।
तं दातारं जिनपतिमते मूख्यमाहुर्जिनेन्द्राः ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha (994 A.D.)

विषसाशीभवेन्नित्यं चामृतभोजनः ।
यज्ञशेषोऽमृतं मुक्तशेषं तु विषसं विदुः ।

Skanda Pu. Kāṇḍ 41 22.

² वैश्यशूद्रावपि प्राप्ती कुटुम्बेऽतिविधर्मणौ ।
भोजयेत् सहभूयैस्तानाशुं स्वं प्रयोजयेत् ।

Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. 233.31.

³ अकृत्वा वैश्यदेवंतु ये मुञ्चन्त्यधामिकाः ।
वृथा तेनात्रपाकेन काकयोनिं व्रजन्ति ते ।

Laghu Śatātapa Sm. 52.

C.f. Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. 281, Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 40-49.

⁴ Āṅgiras. Sm. 88.

मत्तकुड्मातुराणां न च भुञ्जीत कदाचन ।

⁵ महापातकिना स्पृष्टम् यच्चस्पृष्टमूदक्यया । २।

गणात्तं गणिकान्नं च वार्धुपेर्गायकस्य च ।

अभिषास्तपण्डस्य यस्यास्त्रोपपतिर्गृहे । ३।

रजकस्य नृशंसस्य बन्धिनः कितवस्य च । ४।

मिथ्याप्रव्रजितस्वात्तं पुंश्चत्वास्तैलिकस्य च । ५।

चण्डालशवपचानं तु भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

अनिर्दशं च प्रेतान्नं गवाध्रात् तथैव च । १०।

प्राश्यमूत्रपुरीषाणि द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

शुष्काणि जघ्वा मांसानि प्रेतान्नं कवकानि च । १४।

क्रव्यादश्चूकरोष्ट्राणां गोमायोः कपिककयोः ।

गोनराश्वखरोष्ट्राणां छत्राकं ग्रामकुक्कुटम् । १५।

मांसं जघ्वा कुञ्जरस्य तप्तकृच्छ्रेण शुष्यति । १६।

Agni. Pu. Ch. 168.

C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. Ch. 56. 1-17, 26, Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu. III. 230 5-7,

Vṛddha Hārīta. Sm. 267-68.

As before stale food was forbidden except food articles cooked in clarified butter, and preparations of rice and milk.¹ Generally, the Dharmaśāstras of this period do not allow the people of three higher castes to take food or drinks offered by a Śūdra² but they were permitted to accept milk rice, food articles cooked in clarified butter, milk, groats, oil cake and oil.³ It was considered improper to take the leavings of food of some other person but if a Brāhmaṇa, now and then, took his food with his wife it was not considered a sin. Āpastamba also permits a person to eat the leavings of his father or elder brother.⁴ Somadeva forbids eating and drinking in the house of those who take wine, meat and honey and even the use of utensils belonging to them. He states that a person should avoid water brought in water-skins, oil kept in leather flasks, and women who are not in a fit state for vows.⁵ The practices of bathing before taking meals, two persons not eating from the same dish and throwing leaves and earthenware once used for eating as now, were observed

¹ भोज्यमन्नं पर्युषितं स्नेहाक्तं चिरसंभृतम् ।

अस्नेहा ब्रीह्यः श्लक्ष्णा विकाराः पयसस्तथा ।

Vamana Pu. XIV. 39.

Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 228, 8, Laghvāśvālāyana Sm. 170, Yaśastilaka III.

344.

² Angiras Smṛti. 67, Abu. Sam. 174-178, Ap. Sm. III. 3.

³ पायसं स्नेहपक्वं गोरसश्चैव सक्तवः । १८ ।

पिण्याकंचैव तैलं च शूद्राद् ग्राह्यं द्विजातिभिः । १९ ।

Padma Pu. Adh. 36 18-19.

ग्राममांसं मधुभृतम् घाना क्षीरं तथैव च ।

गुडस्तण्डं रसाग्राह्या निवृत्तेनापि शूद्रतः ।

शाकं मांसं मृणालानि तुम्बुरुः सक्तवस्तिलाः ।

रसाः फलानि पिण्याकं प्रतिग्राह्याणि सर्वतः ।

Ap. Sm. VIII.

C.f. Prajapati. Sm. 130, Laghu. Sankha. Sm. 67.

⁴ ग्राह्याभ्या सह्योजनीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन ।

न तत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः ।

Ap. Sm. V. 7-8.

पितृज्यैष्ठस्य च भ्रातृरुच्छिष्टं भोज्यम् ।

Ap. Sm.

⁵ मद्याविस्वादिग्नेहेषु पानमन्नं च नाचरेत् ।

तदमन्नादि संपक्वं न कुर्वीत कदाचन ।

दूति प्रायेषु पानीयं स्नेहं च कुतपादिषु ।

व्रतस्यो वर्जयेन्नित्यं योषितश्चाव्रतोचितः ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 331.

C.f. Atri Sm.

in the ninth century.¹ The practice of not eating the food served at the house of one's daughter had also come into vogue.² Cakes, groats, parched barley, butter milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, preparations of milk, and sugarcane, or food cooked in oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market if water was not used in preparing them.³

Food was taken twice a day⁴ without reviling it.⁵ and one was expected to take only as much food as was necessary to satisfy hunger.⁶ Somadeva states that he who gorges himself with food gluttonously even when he is not hungry stirs up diseases.⁷ One is, therefore, advised to abstain from over-eating, undereating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic food, and eating immediately after eating.⁸ It is recommended that food should vary according to the season. In the autumn a person should take sweet, bitter and astringent things, in the rainy and the winter seasons he should take sweet,

¹ Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers translated from Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, pp. 36 and 98, 99.

² स्वसुतात्रं च यो भुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम् ।

Atri. Sam. 304.

³ अथैव सक्तवो धानास्तक्रं दधि घृतं मधु ।
एतत्सप्येषु भोजनव्यं भाण्डलेषु च चक्षुर्भवेत् । १७१ ।
ग्राह्यं क्षीरविकारं स्वात्सर्वं चैवेक्षुर्भवेत् ।
तैलक्षीराज्यपक्वं च जलसंमिश्रितं न हि । १७३ ।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 171, 173

⁴ सायं प्रातश्चभुञ्जीत नान्तराले कदाचन ।
सायं प्रातर्मनुष्याणामशनं देवनिमित्तम् ।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 233.28.

C.f. Gaut. Sm. IX. 4.

⁵ Vṛddha Harita Sm. VIII. 267.

अन्नं न निन्द्यात् सुस्वच्छः स्वीकुर्यात् प्रीतिभोजनम् ।
आहारं प्रवरं विद्यात् षड्सं मधुरोत्तमम् ।

Sukra. III. 109.

⁶ यावद् भ्रियेत् जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 14. 8.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329.

See Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture by K. K. Handiqui p. 112.

नावीर्णे भोजनं कुर्यात् कुर्यान्नातिबुभुक्षितः ।

Brahma Pu.

⁸ अत्यशनं लघ्वशनं समशनमध्यशनमत्र संत्याज्यम् ।

Yaśastilaka III. 345.

काले हितमित्ताहारविहारी विषसाशनः ।

Sukra III. 107.

salty and sour things, and in the summer mild preparations.¹

We are also told that the constant eating of over-sweet dishes leads to indigestion, too much of salty food causes weakening of vision, extremely sour and pungent dishes lead to physical decay and any unhygienic food causes loss of strength. Certain remedies are also suggested for indigestion.² Someśvara lays down the order of dishes as they should be served. In the beginning one should take boiled rice then milk rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter, then fruits and sweet and sour articles of food, then delicious beverages and preparations like Śikharinī and thick curds should be taken. Last of all, preparations of butter milk mixed with salt or sour gruel should be taken.³ As in the earlier period, some articles are mentioned which should not be taken together. Bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, milk with salt, and broths of pulses with radishes, groats should not be taken when they become thick like curds and all sesamum preparations should be avoided at night. Germinating paddy and ghee kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days are also forbidden.⁴ In the case of royal families it was customary to examine the food preparations to see that they did

¹ Yaśastilaka III. 349-353.

C.f.

घृतं मुद्गाः शालिः समित्तविकृतिः क्षीरविधयः।
पटोलं मूढ्रीकाः फलमिह च धान्याः समुचितम्।
सिता शीतच्छाया मधुरसवसं कन्दकुपलं।
शरत्काले सेव्यं रजनि वदने चन्द्रकिरणाः।

Yaśastilaka III. 354.

वमन्ते कटु चारुनीयाद् ग्रीष्मे मधुरशीतलम्।
वर्षासु च तथा क्षारं मधुरं शरदि स्मृतम्।
हेमन्ते स्निग्धमुष्णं च शिशिरेऽप्युष्णमम्लकम्।

Manas. XIII. 1599-1600.

² Yaśastilaka III. 364-366.

³ पक्वान्नं पायसं मध्यं शर्कराभृतविमिश्रितम्।

ततः फलानि भुञ्जीत मधुराम्लरसानि च। १५६५।

पिबेच्च पानकं हृद्यं लिङ्गमाच्छिखरिणीमपि।

चूयेत् मज्जिका पक्वाहृदि चाद्यात्ततो धनम्। १५६६।

ततस्तक्राभमनीयात् सन्धयेन च संयुतम्।

क्षीरं वापि पिबेत्पश्चात् पिबेत्वा काञ्जिकं वरम्।

Mānasollāsa II. 13. 1595-97.

⁴ Yaśastilaka III. 341-43.

C.f.

रात्री च तिलसम्बद्धं प्रयत्नेन दधि त्यजेत्।

नास्नीयात्पयसा तर्कं सत्तारात्रं न योजयेत्।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 25.

not contain any poison and the symptoms are described in the works of this period as in those of the earlier periods.¹

A student and a householder were expected to take a nourishing full meal so that they might be able to perform sacrificial rites.² But the hermits lived on such coarse food as roots, fruits, tubers, vegetables, husked cereals, water or air alone.³

The general rules of etiquette were the same as in earlier period. A person should take his meals in a secluded place.⁴ He should sit not on bare ground and should not take his meals standing, walking or riding some animal. He should face the east and have his sacred thread and some clothes on his body but should not have his head dress or his shoes on. He should not take his meals in a burial ground or in a temple. He should not keep the food in his lap, in the palm of his hand or on a seat. He should neither have wet clothes nor his head wet. He should not, while taking meals, have his legs stretched. He should not sit on a cot, or on a seat made of leather. He should not eat leavings of his own food or drink. He should not eat very quickly in the company of many persons. He should not leave much food in his dish and should wash his mouth before going out.⁵

¹ Yaśastilaka III. 338-340.

C.f.

विषदोषभयादन्नं विमृश्य कपिकुक्कुटैः।
हंसाः स्खलन्ति कुञ्जन्ति भूगाः नृत्यन्ति मायूराः।
विरोति कुक्कुटो मत्तः कौञ्चो वैरघले कपिः।
हृष्टरोमा भवेद् बभ्रुः सारिकावते तथा।
दृष्ट्वैव सविधं चान्नं तस्माद् भोज्यं परीक्षयेत्।

Sukraniti I. 325, 27.

² गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योनश्नंस्तु तपश्चरेत्।

प्राणान्निहोत्रलोपेन अथकीर्णं भवेत्तु सः।

Baudhayana Sm. II. 7. 33-34

³ Baudh. Sm. III. 3.

⁴ कुर्याद्विहारमाहारं निर्हारं विजने सवा।

Sukraniti III. 108.

⁵ भूमौ सदैव चादनीयात्र च शब्दवत्।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 233. 31.

हस्त्यश्चरथयानोऽप्युमास्थितो नैव भक्षयेत्।
श्मशानाम्यन्तरस्थो वा देवालयगमेष्वथवा।
शयनस्थो न भुञ्जीत न पाणिस्थं न चासने।
नाद्रंवासा नाद्रंशिरा न चायशोपवीतवान्।
न प्रसारितपादस्तु पादारोपितपाणिमान्।
सबाहुसन्निधिसंस्पृश च पर्यङ्कुमास्थितः।
न वेष्टितशिरा चापि मोत्सङ्गकृतभाजनः।

It was a general rule that sweets and other delicious dishes were not to be taken alone.¹ Sukra states that a person should not be too formal at the time of dinner if he wants to be happy.² He should eat his food quietly, neither talking, nor laughing nor making a noise.³ All persons were expected to take the same dishes in a party.⁴

Chewing betel leaves with some spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion.⁵ In the Nāiṣadha

नैवस्वो दुष्टमध्यो नोपानत्कः सपादुकः ।
न चर्मोपरिस्स्थश्च चमविष्टितपाश्वरान् ।
ग्रासशीर्षं न चाशनीयात् पीतशीर्षं पिबेन्न च ।
शाकमूलफलैश्चूर्णा दन्तच्छेदेन भक्षयेत् ।
बहुना भुञ्जतां मध्ये न चाशनीयात् स्वराग्निवतः ।
वृथा न विसृजेदन्नं नोच्छिष्टः कुत्रचिद् ब्रजेद् ।

Brahma. Pu.

Someśvara suggests that the king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee and take his food in the company of his near relatives and reliable courtiers.

ऊष्माभिप्रवेशान्तं सञ्छाद्य सितवातसा ।

Manasollāsa III. 13. 1588.

C.f.

प्राचीमुखस्तु भुञ्जान आयुश्च लभते बहु ।
यश्च लभतेऽप्यर्थमनन्दक्षिणदिग्मुखः ।
धिर्य तु लभते पुष्टां भुञ्जानः पश्चिमाननः ।
सत्यवाक्यफलं प्राप्नोत्यश्नन् धनदिग्मुखः ।

Mānasollāsa III. 13. 1590-91.

स्वाध्याये भोजने पाने पादुके वै विसर्जयेत् । ३१ ।
यदेष्टितशिरा भुङ्क्ते यो भुङ्क्ते दक्षिणामुखः ।
सोपानत्कश्च यो भुङ्क्ते तद् रक्षांसि भुञ्जते । ३२ ।
नोत्सर्गे भोजनं कृत्वा नो पाणौ नैवकर्परे ।
नासने न च शय्यायां भुञ्जीत न मलादितः ।

Skanda Pu. Kāśi 41. 31-33.

C. f. Ap. Sm. IX., Vṛddha Hārta Sm. VIII. 267-276.

¹ एकः स्वादु न भुञ्जीत ।

Sukra III. 52.

² आहारे त्यवहारे च त्यक्तलज्जः सुखी भवेत् ।

Sukra III. 186.

³ हसन्नासं च यो भुङ्क्ते सशब्दं सेङ्गितं तथा ।
लेहितं व्रतितं चैव पडेते पङ्क्तिद्वयकाः ।

Bṛhadyama Sm. 33.

⁴ पङ्क्तिभेदेन यो भुङ्क्ते ग्रासमात्रमपि द्विजः ।

अर्घं स केवलं भुङ्क्ते हतश्रीर्जायतेऽध्वम् ।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 159.

⁵ कपूरबीज्यपहाणां तम्बोलाहं ।

Samaraiccatkāhā, p. 80.

Carita after a grand dinner the bridegroom's party was served with betel leaves. Spices such as camphor and *kastūri* were used in preparing them. As they were chewed a pungent sensation was created on the tongue which made the people feel as if scorpions were stinging.¹ Chewing betel leaves in the company of others without being presented with them by others was regarded as a breach of social etiquette.²

The Dharma Śāstras of this period give a long list of articles which were taboo in sacrifices and of those which were regarded pure enough to be used. The Mitākṣarā considers the use of *vrihi*, *śālī*, *barley*, wheat, *mudga*, *māṣa*, cereals used by ascetics, *kālaśāka*, *mabāśāka* (a kind of fish), cardamom, dry ginger, black pepper, asafoetida, treacle, sugar, camphor, rock salt, salt from the Sambhar lake, bread fruit, cocoanut, banana, jujube, products of cow's milk, such as milk, curds, clarified butter and milk, rice, honey and meat proper on such occasions. It prohibits the use of *kodrava*, *masūra*, gram, *kulattba*, shrivelled grain, *nispāva*, *rājamaṣa*, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (gourd), *brinjal*, *brhatī*, *podakī*, tender leaves of bamboo, long pepper, *vaca*, *śatapuspā*, *ūṣara* and *biḍa* salts, milk rice prepared from the milk of a buffalo or *camara*. Similar injunctions, with some variations, are found in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas of the period.³ But Vijñāneśvara permits the use of

लाभः स एव परमः पर्याप्तं तेन तृप्तास्मि।

विनिवेश्य यदुत्सङ्गे निक्षिपति मुखे मुखेन ताम्बूलम्।

Kuṭṭhanimatam.

C.f. Kathāsarit Sāgara Vol. VI. p. 23, VII. p. 74, VIII. p. 4.

Vikramānāka-deva Carita X. 38, Alberuni 68.

¹ मुखे निधाय क्रमुकं नलानुगैरयोऽङ्गि पर्याग्निरवेक्ष्य वृश्चिकम्।

दमापित्तान्तर्मुखवासनिमित्तम् भयाविलैः स्वभ्रमहासिताखिलैः।

Naiṣadha XVI 110.

² Śukra II. 410-11.

³ हविष्यं आढ हविर्योग्यं ब्रीहिशालिवक्त्रगोधूममुद्गमापमुष्यकालशाकमहाशल्कैला-
शुण्ठी मरिच ह्रिङ्गु गुडशर्करा कर्पूरसैन्धव साम्भरपनसतारिकेल कदली बदरगव्य पयोदधि घृत
पायस मधुमांस प्रभृतिस्मृत्यन्तरं प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। अहविष्यमित्यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तर-
प्रतिषिद्धस्यकोद्वय मसुरचणक कुलित्व पुलाक निष्पाव राजमाप कूष्माण्ड दालक बृहतीद्वयोपोष-
की वंशाङ्कुरपिप्पली वचाशतपुष्पोपर विडलवण माह्व चामर क्षीर दधि घृत पायसादीनां
निवृत्तिः।

Mitākṣarā on Yaj. I. 240.

C.f. Agni. Pu. 165. 2, 168. 16.21. Padma. Pu. Adī. 56 19-24, 31-35.
Skanda. Pu. Kāśī. 40 9-13.

garlic as a medicine and quotes Sumantu as an authority.¹ Some Jain writers objected to the eating of beans and pulses as these too, according to them, are flesh, being endowed with life. Soma-deva, however, rejects this view,² and states that all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures and one was for the same reason to give up eating at night.³ Pickles, syrups, unhusked paddy, flowers, fruits, roots and leaves, being the breeding ground of living organisms, should not be acquired for use nor anything that is frequented by the latter. Hollow stalks and reeds should be avoided as well as creepers and bulbs resorted to by diverse creatures. Herbs and creatures should be taken when no longer raw, after splitting them into two sections, and all kinds of pulses and beans which are cooked entire should be avoided.⁴

Śrāddha feasts were common during this period but we get some other details about the food habits of the people. Fruits such as citrus medica, cocoanut, banana, dates, and oranges were

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 141 21-26. III. 230 12-14. III. 233 26-27.

Angiras Sm. 139, Atri. Sam. 92, 235, 379, Atri. Sm. 7 Ap. Sm. VI. 9, Prajapati Sm. 113-123.

Vṛddha Hārta Sm. VII. 108-123, VIII. 253-254, 261-265, 277-282. XI. 99-101. Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 63-65. Śankha Sm. XIV. 19-26, XVII 20-34.

¹ एतान्येव व्याधितस्य त्रिषक् क्रियायामप्रतिषिद्धीनि भवन्ति । यानि चैवं प्रकाराणि तेज्वपि न दोषः ।

Sumantu quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 290.

² तदाह मांसं जीवशरीरं भवेन्न वा मांसम् ।

यद्वन्निम्बो वृक्षो वृक्षस्तु भवेन्नवानिम्बः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 331.

³ Kumārapāla Carita VIII. 68.

⁴ देवद्रव्याणि सर्वाणि पटपूतानि योजयेत् ।

निशायां वर्जयेद् भुक्तिमिहामुक् च दुःखदाम् ।

संधानं पानकं घान्यं पुष्पं मूलं फलं दलम् ।

जीवयोनिं न संग्राह्यम् यज्जीवैरुपद्रुतम् ।

यदन्तः शुषिरप्रायं हेयं नाली नलादि तत ।

अनन्त कायिक प्रायं बल्लीकन्दादिकं त्यजेत् ।

द्विदलं द्विदलं प्राश्यं प्रायेणानवतां गतम् ।

सिन्धयः सकलास्त्याज्याः साधिताः सकलाश्च याः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 335.

given to a pregnant woman. Food articles cooked in milk, clarified butter, or mixed with honey and curds were given to a child at the time of the ceremony of first feeding. Rice and fruits were given to a boy at the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread.¹ Salt, honey and meat were not taken when one observed a fast.² The Jains considered it meritorious to starve themselves to death.³

From the Uktivyakti prakaraṇa we know that the diet of the people of Banaras in the twelfth century consisted of boiled rice, milk rice, *ĥarsara* and cakes. Parched grain was eaten and groats were taken with clarified butter and sugar. They were also kneaded into balls. People also liked cakes fried in clarified butter. Some people took meat soup and rice cooked with meat and roasted meat.

The students learnt the art of cooking from the teacher's wife. They cooked their own food from the provisions they got in alms. People, generally, took food after taking bath, worshipping gods and offering food to Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas were fond of sweets such as *modakas* and did full justice to the food served in the feasts.⁴

From a south Indian inscription we know that cardamom, *campaka* buds, *khasakhasa*, roots, *dāla*, pepper, spices, cumin, sugar, clarified butter, tamarind, curds, grams, plantains, pulses, husked rice, paddy, oil and salt were the common food articles in the South about 1000 A.D.⁵

From the Yaśastilaka we learn that the daily diet of the rich in the South consisted of white shining rice, broths of golden

¹ मातुलिङ्गनारिकेलं रम्भाखर्जूरपूरकम् ।

शस्तानि स्युरवाग्न्यानि नारिङ्गादीनि वापि च ।

Āśv. Sm. Garbhādhāna. 9.

कीराज्यमधुदध्यन्नं विधाय प्राशयेच्छिशून् ।

Āśv. Sm. Annaprāśana 3.

तण्डुलान् सफलान् दद्याद् भिक्षार्थं जननीतु च ।

Āśv. Sm. Upanayana.

² लवणं मधुमांसं च क्षाराज्यवो येन हृयते । उपवासो न भुञ्जीत ।

Gobhila Sm. III. 117.

³ अणसण मरण भरिवितवतसक दसनइवेवलोई संपत्तउ ।

Bhavisayatta. XII. 4.

⁴ Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.

⁵ South Indian Inscriptions No. 1 of Rājakesari 1000 A.D.

colour, butter, curries, well cooked savoury dishes, thick curds, milk, milk rice, sweets and water perfumed with camphor. The meal of the miserly people consisted of boiled rice grown stale, half cooked gourds, and certain badly cooked vegetables as well as some gruel mixed with plenty of mustards. Their beverage was some alkaline fluid with a taste like that of the water of a salt mine. Some poor people subsisted on *śyāmāka* rice and whey.¹

We propose to conclude this chapter with a review of the feasts during this period. From *Nalacampū* we learn that boiled rice, *mudga*, *modakas*, *asokavarti*, meat, many kinds of vegetables condiments, milk, curds, *ghārikā*, clarified butter, honey, sugar and fruit juices were generally served in feasts.² In such feasts the ground was covered with pieces of cloth, all kinds of utensils were brought together and drinking was indulged in.³ Saline preparations such as *kaccara* and *parpaṣa* were served. Sweet preparations of treacle and *śrīkhaṇḍa*, many kinds of broths, cakes, *kāsāra*, *subālā* (sweet cakes) and fruits such as *kapittha*, grapes, coconuts, mangoes, citrus, and pomegranates were also eaten with great relish. Betel leaves with some spices such as camphor

¹ *Yasastilaka*. III. Report of Śaṅkhānaka.

² तस्यां च बहुविस्तीर्णं स्वर्णं भोजनपात्र पत्रशंखं शुक्तिं सनाथायानुपविष्टस्यास्यै क्रमेण परिकरमावध्य गाढमाडीकन्त स्वस्यानु हारिणोऽत्र विशेषानादाय सूपकाराः सूपकाराङ्गनाश्च । तथाहितस्य भक्तम्, मुद्गा मुद्गान्, मोदकामोदकान् अशोकवर्तिन्योऽशोकवर्तीः । सर्मासा मांसम् नानाशाकाः शाकानि, शङ्खजनाब्जज्वनम् अपरास्तु कारिचदक्षीरा क्षीरम्, अधारिका अपि धारिकाः परिवेषयासुः ।

लज्जाः सर्वतोदृश्यन्ते पर्वताः पक्ष्वाग्रस्य, राशयः शाल्योदतस्य, स्तूपाः सूपस्य, निर्भराः सर्पिषः, सिन्धवो मधुनः, निकरोशर्करायाः, स्रोतांसिदधिदुग्धयोः, खेलाः शाकानां, निपानानि पाकानाम्, कुल्याः फल रसानाम्, कूटाः कषायाम्ललवणतृप्तमधुरोपदंशानाम् ।

Nalacampū. p. 97.

³ ततो भोजनभूमिं ते क्रमेणात्र सभासदन ।

विद्याविभव संभूत विविधाहार हारिणीम् । १२१ ।

आस्तीर्णवस्त्रां पात्राह्यां सतिरस्करणीपटाम् ।

नानाविधास्वाद्यरसां नाट्यवेदीनिव श्रियाम् । १२२ ।

आपान भूमिः सज्जयेत् तदत्रागम्यतामिति ।

तच्छ्रुत्वा ते ययुः सर्वे तामापानभुवं शुभाम् । १२४ ।

विविधरत्नचषकप्रफुल्लविविधाम्बुजाम् ।

विकीर्णानेक कुसुमाम्बाननलिलीनिव । १२५ ।

व्याप्यां भतासवापूर्णेकलक्ष्मीभिः पुरंश्रिभिः ।

तन्वतीभिः सुधाहृत् बाहूत्पन्नामृतप्रभम् । १२६ ।

and betel nuts were taken after feasts.¹

We have the account of a royal feast in the Kathākoṣaparakaraṇa (1108 V.S.). The first course, served to king Śreṇika, consisted of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes, and jujube, which could be chewed with teeth. The second course consisted of such fruits as could be sucked such as pieces of sugarcane, dates, oranges, and mangoes. The third course consisted of such well cooked preparations as could be taken by licking. In the fourth course some sweets such as *sevāka*, *modaka*, *phṇaka* *ghṛtapūra* were served. The fifth course consisted of fragrant boiled rice, and the sixth course of broths prepared by mixing many food stuffs. After this the dishes and cups were removed and the king washed his hands in a vessel specially meant for the purpose. The seventh course consisted of preparations of curds. Again these dishes etc. were removed and hands washed. In the end some half boiled milk with sugar, honey and saffron was served.

¹ सलोणं समिद्धं नदेहेविरुद्धं वरं सालिभक्तं सुप्रथं सुसिद्धं ।
तद्वादेशमुत्सारं मुग्गायवत्ता नरापावहो जेणभोया विचिन्ता ।
मयदेह नासाययेयं पसत्वं नसोपावए किपिभाविणदुत्तं ।
पुणोकच्चरा पप्पडा दिन्नमेवाजयंताण कोवन्नएदिज्जलेया ।
वरासन्नणाचारुसाहूणदाई नरोसोलहं भोयभूमीहि जाई ।
मुणीणं मणिट्ठं गुडं सेयसंढं सयादितए भुंजए भोयसंढं ।
कसायंविता तीवणा तिवससारा गुटेणं पिगाडा जईणंपियारा ।
सुहासेय मंडाय खंडासुखच्छा तुमइच्छसिसग्ग भोग्गाइवच्छा ।
गुणाचारिया लब्धुआलोखज्जा कसारं सुसारं सुहालीमणुज्जा ।
ससत्तीए भत्तीए जोदेइदाया महीमूलसग्गमिसा होइराया ।
अविक्खा सुदक्खामहानालिएरा गुरु माहुलिना वरापक्कसारा ।
सुराईहि वहिएहिलित्तं पवित्तं वरंआमुरीयं सुहदेहवत्तं ।
सहारंवसजायया भव्वभ्रंवा अहोएव माई करेवि अउब्बा ।
सुसाहूण जोदेइए मच्चलोए न छड्डंतिपासं सयातस्स भोए ।
नरेणच्छजुत्तं वहीयंपिस्तीरं दिडंनिच्चजोदेइ ताहीसरीरं ।
रसंपायएइत्थए जोमुणीसं सुहसेवए किन्नराणां असेसं ।
मुणीणं तद्वापन्नयाजेहिदिन्नासुकप्पूरधूवेण पउरेण भिन्ना ।
तभोतेहि पविज्जए किन्नराणं भमतो नहे हिंइएसुरविमानं ।
सुहावच्चराकोइलालावदाया सुहं पावएदिज्ज वाणी सुवाया ।
अहाजेणदत्तंताहा तेण पत्तं इमं सुच्चए सिट्ठलोएणवत्तं ।
सुपायन्नवा कौट्वाजत्तमाली कहुंसोपावए तत्पसाली ।
सिरीसंढकप्पूरएलाइदिन्ना मुहासिद्धिहे पोक्फलाजेण दिन्ना ।
भवेत्तस्स वायाअलीमाणयारी सुखेण कामोसिरीकन्नधारी ।

Bhavisayattakāhā. Sandhi. XII. Account of the feast, given by Bhavissa when he got back his wife.

After cleaning his teeth with tooth sticks, and some fragrant powder the king again washed his hands with luke warm water and fragrant powder. It looks like the description of a grand modern feast.¹ A similar account is given in *Vilāsavatīkathā* where pickles prepared with *karīra* fruit and *Karamarda*, *vaṭakas* of many kinds prepared with milk and curds and vegetables such as *kāravella* are also mentioned.² Lastly we may refer to the account of marriage feast given in the *Naiṣadha Carita*. It is mainly based on the imagination of the poet. But it reflects the contemporary conditions in royal households. The food preparations were served in dishes made of emerald. The boiled rice was served hot. It was unbroken, well cooked, white in colour, fragrant and delicious. Each grain was separate from the other. The milk rice was mixed with clarified butter. The

¹ *Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa* by Jīnēśvara Sūri, *Śālī Bhadrā Kathā* p. 38, Singhi Jain Granthamala.

² वामपासंमिदेवी विवदसोरिया दिव्यवायालाहं उवचतिभंडारिया ।
कणयमणि-रुप्य कचचोल संपुत्रयं कणयत्थालं कुमस्सवित्थिन्नयं ।
वक्खल्लज्जूर खुडहुडिय उत्तसियादिभं बरिसोलभवराय संजुत्तिया ।
भुज्जेविकिउहत्थ पक्खालणं सिधुलवणेण सहदिज्जएसालणं ।
अवटीटी करीराहं करवंदयविल्लियावक्ककडं गज्जरं अहयं ।
पुण गोहुम सालेहिं मुग्गहंवालिहं पिट्ठेहिं सज्जियरसचडियं ।
कालायरवद्ध हिं गु सुयंकतलियतिविह पप्पड पडियं ।
संडआसुरियगुलमिट्ठयं बहुपलेहिहं तह भुजियपेट्ठयं ।
तलियसयलेहं चणकर वाइगणं कासमहेणसंसिद्धयं रिगणं ।
तिडिसं कचचरं अवंअंवाइयादिभत्तुडीरिया खंडसंजोइया ।
चमलया चुंचुचण साइ चमलाइयावत्तुलोलोणओसरिसवीराइया ।
गोहुमा चणयवल्लायतहसंगरो बहुपयारेहिनिम्मविउपाचंगरो ।
वडियपह्विडियावेरवडिनिविया हरइइ दाडिमी अंबर सरडिया ।
कंचचारं करीराहं टक्कारिया फोम्प सोहुंजणो दिन्न अग्गारिया ।
तलिय पडउल कंक्कोड कारेल्लयाचंगकालिग कवकडियदिन्नेलिया ।
खीरवद्ध धोलवद्धदुद्धवद्धिन्नया पुणुपडंति धवलत्थमंडया ।
धेउराविव चहुत्तरिय खंडयाचाउजाय सुहपाय मंडिया ।
सरससेवसहिया सुहालिया सन्नचुइय कासारमीलिया ।
वरमुरक्कवडियामुक्किया कोवकरीसलप्पसिय दुक्किया ।
दुद्धवड्य तहवद्ध लावणा सिंहकेसरा मोइयाघणा ।
खंडखज्जु अट्ठारसं इमंतकमेण परिविट्ठु उत्तमं ।
छासिहुराण खधोलइ पाणइ बहुलइ भत्तुत्तरे अईमिट्ठकं ।
सहुंसुदिठहिं मिरएहिखडेहिं तरिएहिं कडिउदुद्धपरिविट्ठं ।

From the Introduction to *Apabhraṃśaśatrayī* citing examples of *Apabhraṃśa* language. pp. 111-12.

Vilāsavatīkathā J. Bha. Ta. II. 147, 8., 202, 205 by Siddhasena Sūri 1123 V.S.

preparations of curds mixed with black mustard made the party scratch their heads on account of their pungent taste. Taste-ful broths were prepared with the flesh of deer, and fish. The preparations were so skilfully made that the party could not distinguish between vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Vegetable broths, and thick curds with white sugar were also served. Flesh was so dressed that it looked like a *Bimba* fruit. *Vaṭakas* dropped in milk, and *laḍḍukas* as white as hailstones, sugar dolls, and sweet cakes were some other delicacies. We have already referred to the betel leaves which created a sensation like that of the bite of a scorpion. All this shows that the marriage feast was a feast par excellence.¹

To sum up we notice that the food habits of the people had considerably changed. Their food during the period was not so simple as in the past. They had learnt to make fine sweets from wheat flour and pulses such as *kāsāra*, *pābalikā*, *subālī*, *patrikā*, *keśiravaṭa*, *iḍarikā* and *ghārikā* and saline preparations from rice flour and pulses such as *kaccaras* and *parpaṭas*, *pārikās*, *veṣṭikās*, *dhosakas*, and *kaṭakarnas* were some delicious preparations of gram flour in common use. Along with the vegetarian dishes, the *Mānasollāsa* describes a number of fine meat preparations such as *suṣṭhākas*, *kavacandī*, *puryāla*, *bhaḍitraka* and *maṇḍaliya*. Among the *Tāntrikas* and some royal families non-vegetarian diet and drinking was common but a considerable section of society, influenced by the teachings of the Jains, completely avoided meat diet. This change is clearly visible in the account of the feasts. Some of these included no meat preparations. Even in *Śrāddha* feasts preparation of meat dishes was not considered obligatory, now. Meat eating and drinking was common among the *Kṣatriyas*, *Sūdras* and the *Tāntrikas*. The accounts of the feasts show that a very high standard had been attained in the art of cooking both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian dishes.

¹ *Naiṣadha* XVI. 66-107.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Our food habits from times immemorial to the end of the 12th century A.D. are a major reflex of our cultural evolution. In the early stages the Negroid man as a mere fruit procurer lived on fruits, nuts, tubers and the flesh of animals that he hunted and killed. With the Proto-Australoid we come to a period when man produced food for himself, and from the list of fruit and vegetables and other things which he consumed it appears that the Indian Proto-Australoid was no mere barbarian. He had learnt the use of betel leaves and betel nuts and produced many of the fruits the use of which comes down to our period. He was perhaps also the first producer of rice. With the coming of Dravidians we find this cultural evolution going further. He used boiled rice, sour rice gruel, fried barley and some new pulses such as *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. We find him also frying things in oil and seasoning his meat. Palm juice industry and toddy tapping go back to that early period in our history. We find also the use of some new fruits, vegetables and spices.

In the Indus Valley civilisation we come across the use of wheat, barley, sesamum and brassica. Wheat was ground in mortars with pestles possibly because the people did not know the use of circular grinding stones. They domesticated buffaloes, goats and sheep and probably drank their milk. They used melons, dates, cocoanuts and the flesh of animals, birds and fish. On the basis of food we are unable to decide the race of these people. Their food is different from the food of the Proto-Australoids as also from that of Dravidians, so it is possible that they may have been a different people who entered India before the Aryans.

The food of the early Aryans clearly proves that they were a Northern race. In the *R̥gveda* we find them consuming barley, milk, curds, clarified butter, mutton and beef. There is no mention of either wheat or rice in the *R̥gveda*. But when we come

to the Yajurveda we find the Aryans using wheat, rice as well as many varieties of pulses. The inclusion of these food grains in the Aryan dietary may be explained only by their contact with the people of the Indus Valley culture and also the Dravidians who had been using these articles before the coming of the latter. Oil is not mentioned in the R̥gveda but we find its mention in the Atharvaveda as the food of the *Yātudhānas* or *Rākṣasas* which again is indicative of the fact that its use was restricted to non-Aryans. This view is further corroborated by the remark of Vagbhata I, who states that the use of oil contributed largely to the strength of *Daitya* rulers and their capacity to put in hard work. Sugarcane is not mentioned in the R̥gveda, and in the earlier works only honey is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient. The products of sugarcane also may have been included in the Aryan menu only after their contact with their predecessors in India who already knew their use.

In the Sūtra period there is an attempt to arrest the speed of these changes.¹ From the prohibitions and taboos found in the Sūtra literature we may guess that the Indian culture was entering a period when it was not only growing selfconscious but also trying to protect itself against foreign contacts and habits by laying down rules for maintaining the purity of food. In the beginning of the period the Sūdras were allowed to cook food under the supervision of the Aryans, though there were some persons called *Niravasita*² who were regarded as unfit to be served in the utensils of an Ārya. Later the view was held that contact with Sūdras defiled food and dining with unworthy people was improper. The food of artisans was prohibited; probably because they were mostly non-Aryans. The use of dark grains such as *Māṣa*, beans, garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips etc. was interdicted probably because these were generally consumed by non-

¹ The process of assimilation of non-Aryan elements into the Aryan society by the performance of *Vratya* sacrifices is clearly referred to. Probably the institution of *Vrata* or vow is also associated with them.

² The out castes who would pollute utensils which might not be used by others are called *niravasita* by Pāṇini. These, most probably included *Cāṇḍālas* to eat whose food was regarded as an unpardonable sin for other castes according to the Pāli texts. Such castes as the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, milkmen, washermen were regarded as *aniravasita* i.e. they did not pollute utensils and food could be served to them in the utensils of persons of high castes.

Aryans. There is prohibition against unclean meat. Students and widows were advised to avoid meat preparations. Brāhmaṇas were asked to avoid all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were enjoined not to take liquors prepared from cereals. The only concession the Aryans make to popular sentiment is that they now permit the use of oil as a substitute for clarified butter, if the latter could not be had.

In the Jain and Buddhist works we find the food habits as they prevailed in eastern India. Rice and fish were the main items of food. Both the Buddha and Mahāvīra preferred non-violence. They condemned animal sacrifices. But while the Buddha did not insist on his followers conforming to strict vegetarianism and advised them not to take meat preparations if an animal was expressly killed for them, Mahāvīra went a step further. He did not allow his followers to take even those fruits or vegetables in which there was probability of the existence of any living organism. Even water was to be strained before being used for drinking purposes. Food was not to be taken at night for the same reason. Mahāvīra advised Jain monks to avoid rich food.¹ The practice of betel chewing is mentioned in the Jātakas for the first time. It is not mentioned in the Sūtra literature, in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. This again may be a result of the Aryan contact with the non-Aryans especially the Proto-Australoids. Many varieties of fruits, and fruit syrups and sweets are described in the Buddhist and Jain works and these may have taken the place of meat and wine in the dietary of the Jains. Though prohibited both by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the use of intoxicating drinks by other sections of society may be presumed from their frequent mention in the Jain canonical works.

Kauṭilya gives a fairly good idea of food habits as they prevailed in the Maurya period. People were vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. A superintendent of slaughter houses supervised the sale of meat. Fish is mentioned along with vegetables by Kauṭilya probably because it was a common article of food in the eastern parts of India which fact is corroborated by the description of the habits of the people of these parts in the later medical works. The Kṣatriyas and people residing in the hills were gene-

¹ Probably he himself was impressed by the doctrines of the Ajivikas who regarded taking rich food as an impediment in the practice of penances.

rally non-vegetarians. But the influence of Jainism and Buddhism was making itself felt to an increasing extent. According to Magasthenes, Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat. This influence became deeper in the reign of Aśoka, which is a land mark in the development of the idea of vegetarianism. He prohibited the killing of animals on certain days of the year and forbade wholly the slaughter of certain categories of animals and birds. He criticised also the practice of meat eating on festive occasions and sacrifices.

We know from Kauṭilya that there was great disparity between the standard of living of an Ārya and that of a low caste worker. He wrote "One *prastha* of rice pure and unsplit, one fourth part of *sīpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one fourth part of *sīpa* will suffice to form one meal of an Ārya. One sixth *prastha* of rice and half the above quantity of clarified butter will form the meal for a man of low caste. Three fourths of the same ration will be the food of women and half of that will be for children."

From Patañjali we know that the Śakas and Yavanas had been included in the category of *aniravasita* Sūdras. Onions were generally used by non-vegetarians probably those who had come from foreign countries. People who took meals in a standing posture are called *abrāhmaṇa* by Patañjali probably because it was against the traditional Brahmanical practice.

The epics represent in a general way the conditions as they prevailed in the North-Western half of India in the post-Buddhist period. In the Madhyadeśa the Kṣatriyas continued to be non-vegetarians. The Brāhmaṇas generally took only sanctified meat. The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas who had no objection to taking meat, were an exception. Actually as we proceed farther from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of society. The Vāhlikas took beef and gruel with parched barley. Drinking to an excess was common even among their women. *Rākṣasas* are represented as consumers of meat diet and intoxicating drinks. The *Vānaras* were fond of drinking though they lived mainly on fruit diet.)

Influence of the sects preaching Ahimsā may be seen in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Manusmṛiti. A spirit of compromise may be detected in the oft-quoted verse from the Manu-

smṛti which states that 'there is no harm in eating meat or drinking intoxicating liquors as it is the natural craving of man but abstaining from them is meritorious.' The Gītā recognizes that the food habits vary with the temperaments of the people.

In the Sunga period we find that there was a revival of *Aśvamedha* and many other sacrifices in which a number of animals must have been slaughtered and consumed. Aśoka's edicts against meat eating might have been responsible for this reaction. We find other orthodox Hindu rulers, the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and many others also performing such sacrifices. From medical works we learn that in this period the Indians used more than forty varieties of rice, sixty varieties of fruits including some dry fruits such as almonds and more than one hundred and twenty vegetables. Treating the subject scientifically they give a list of food articles which suit people residing in different regions, as also the articles which one should consume in a particular season. Many new preparations are now mentioned for the first time and perhaps the influence of foreigners, under whom physicians like Caraka were serving, is responsible for the prescription of meat diet almost invariably for every patient. Meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food, and wines taken in moderation are considered as wholesome as nectar itself. Some new sweets and preparations from fruit juices also came into use; and this richness of food may have been a result of the wealth which was pouring into India from Western countries as a result of the foreign trade during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Dinner of the rich was a grand occasion. Even the order in which dishes were to be served is laid down. The modern practice of listening to sweet music at the time of dinner is found in the Kāśyapa Samhitā. Betel chewing and smoking cigars prepared with some fragrant substances were common among the rich. Garlic juice is prescribed in many diseases. A prohibition against taking meals during the eclipse is mentioned for the first time. This belief may have come to us from Central or Western Asia.

In the Gupta period Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism come very near each other in many respects. The Gupta rulers were *Parama Bhāgavatas* i.e. believers in the Bhāgavata religion,

the later developments of which interdicted the use of meat diet. From Fabien's account it appears that vegetarianism had been accepted as the normal way of life. Abstaining from meat was considered meritorious and even some of the Purāṇas lay down that cereals should be used in sacrifices and not animals. Some people who were outside the Aryan social order and those who inhabited certain regions, which were considered outside the Aryan fold relished meat diet. Fruit supply was quite abundant and fruit juices quite popular. But foreign articles of food were gradually finding a way into Indian dietary. Garlic is prescribed as a medicine even for Brāhmaṇas though a way out is suggested by the Bower Mss. according to which a Brāhmaṇa could have full medicinal effect of garlic by using the milk of a cow fed on garlic. *Masūra*, gram, *Koradūṣaka* and *Māṣa* from part of Indian dietary but they are still treated as exotic and are not prescribed in a Śrāddha.

The rich and luxurious life of the period, is reflected in the variety of dishes prepared from cereals and milk products and in the scenes of drinking depicted in the Ajanta paintings. In the richer sections of society even women drank, for it was believed that this habit heightened their beauty. In south India rich liquors imported from the West were used by the members of royal families, and country wine was drunk by the poor because toddy tapping has been in existence there from times immemorial. Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas generally avoided any intoxicating liquors and used fruit syrups instead because they regarded drinking as a sin.

Our history for the period 750-1200 A.D. is rather obscure but it was during these years that the Hunas and Gurjaras became members of the Indian caste system. Many of the Tibetan invaders also perhaps settled down in this country. As a result of all this, we find some of the old tendencies getting arrested and a large section of society, especially the Rājapūts, turning to the use of meat diet. The sons of Hariścandra from the Kṣatriya wife are called *Madyapāyinaḥ* (indulging in drinks). Among royal households especially, meat diet became so popular that the *Mānasollāsa* deals mainly with meat preparations in the *An-nabhoga* section and describes the various delicacies in detail. The

influence of Tibetan elements is discernible in the teachings of the *Tāntrikas* who gave religious sanction to the use of wine and meat and the company of women, and associated pleasure with salvation in their teachings. Among vegetarian foods gram seems to have become, by now, very popular. Someśvara prescribed its use in many preparations, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Many new preparations from wheat and rice flour and pulses are mentioned. *Vaṭakas* of many kinds prepared from *Māṣa* pulse were very popular.

A reaction against meat eating is to be found in the religious movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Western parts of India, where Jainism became so influential that rulers like Kumārapāla and Alhaṇa issued *amarighoṣaṇās* i.e. royal proclamations for the non-slaughter of animals. People were punished if they slaughtered animals on certain days of the year. But even here an exception was made in the case of *Purohitas*, who were obviously habitual users of meat diet. Rājapūts, too, may have largely continued eating meat. Gradually, however, the influence of these humanitarian movements started by Kings like Kumārapāla changed considerably the food habits of large sections of people in Rājasthān and Gujarat.

The vegetable preparations mentioned in Jain works and the non-vegetable dishes described in the *Mānasollāsa* show a high development in the art of cooking. The account of the marriage feast given in *Naiṣadha Carita* also shows that some people were expert in preparing excellent dishes. The members of the marriage party could not distinguish between the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. All this must have been done by the intermixture of various ingredients used and by the skill of dressing them.

As in history, so also in food habits, we see two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Though we may remark that 'change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.'¹ Changes in our food habits come but without there being any serious break with the past, and no one factor can be held res-

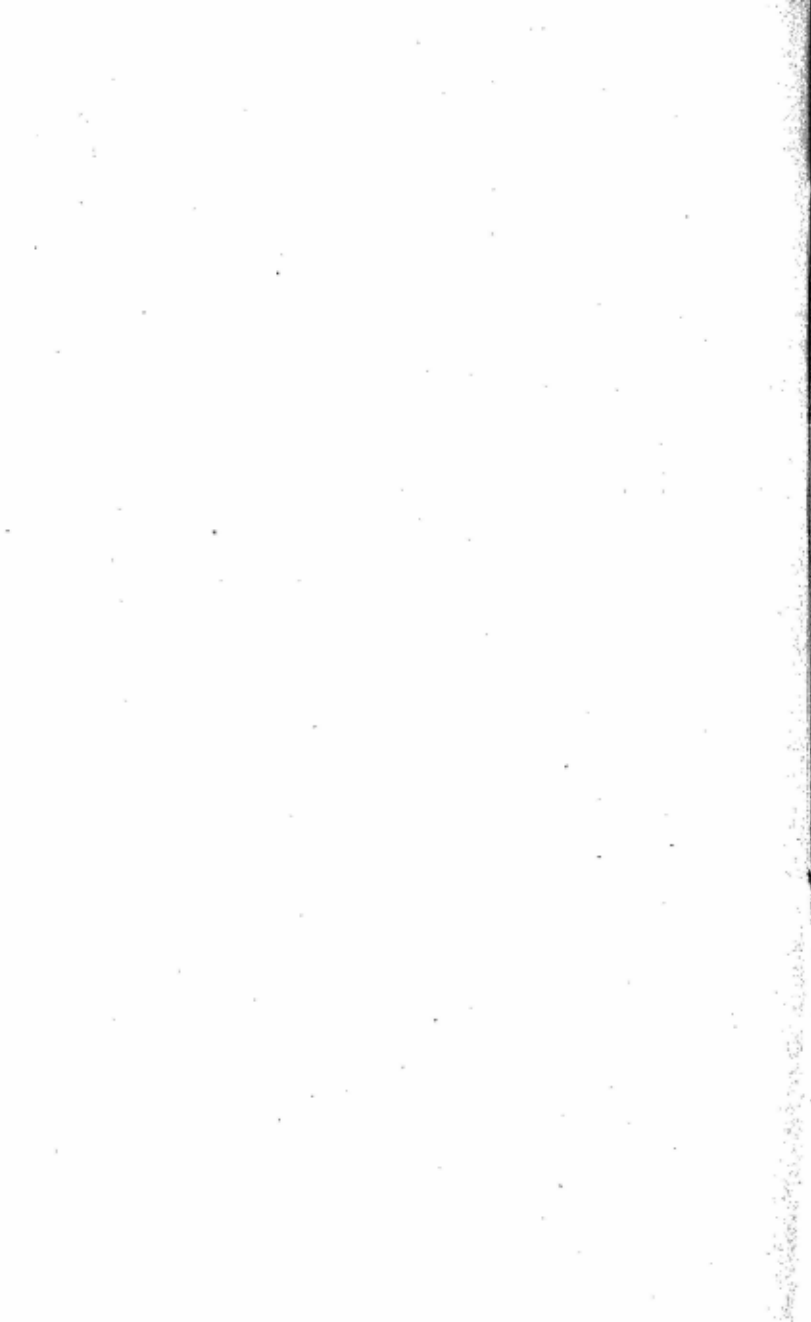
¹ Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru, *Indian Inheritance*, Vol. III. p. 86.

possible for shaping the manifold currents in this process. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulted in the evolution of a diet which was relished by all irrespective of caste or creed consideration. But in this diet there were as many variations as in our culture. The use of garlic and onions was eschewed by the higher castes for centuries and even now some sections of Hindu society do not consume them. Their popularity in North Western India was obviously due to the continued influence of foreign elements. Religious rules disallowed the use of wine for Brāhmaṇas but it remained popular enough with Kṣatriyas and other sections of society. Variety of food habits resulted also from geographical factors. No royal order or religious prohibition could prevent the use of rice and fish in Eastern or Southern and of wheat in North-Western India, nor could the food of the rich and the poor have been the same. We know from the Mahābhārata that the rich enjoyed meat preparations, the people of the middle classes relished articles cooked in clarified butter and the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. Food varied also on account of the religious ideals that the people entertained. While Buddhism, Jainism and the orders of rulers like Aśoka and Kumārapāla turned people to vegetarianism, the influence of Vedic religion, primarily and later on the influx of many foreign tribes made them non-vegetarians. But even in all this diversity we can perhaps see a general movement towards vegetarianism,¹ because Indians have generally felt like Mahatma Gandhi that 'abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs and from all kinds of foods, especially meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, though,² it is by no means an end in itself.'³

¹ This fact is in conformity with the evolutionary trends of Indian thought and culture. A non-vegetarian or rather a mixed diet is the normal feature in the beginning. Later on the use of meat became restricted. People, who used it, had to find pleas for its use or be apologetic about it and some sections of society gave up meat diet altogether.

² The original has 'but' instead of 'though.'

³ Selections from Gandhi—Ahmedabad, p. 252.



APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF FRYING IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Upto c. 500 A.D.)

Some scholars are of opinion that frying was introduced into India by the Muslims. In this short note it is proposed to examine the available evidence with a view to finding out how far the assertion is based on facts.

The early Jain canonical works which in their present form were compiled in the fifth century A.D. assign a separate name for all the fried articles and call them *supakvam*.¹ By way of illustration the commentators mention two sweets *ghṛtapūra* and *kbajjakas*.² Among the non-vegetarian preparations they distinctly mention fried (*talita*) meat.³

Suśruta (latest in the fourth century A.D.) calls articles fried in clarified butter or oil *ghṛta taila pakvāp*⁴ and mentions many sweets prepared by frying such as *ghṛtapūra*, *madhuśīraka* and *phenakas*.⁵ Fried meat is called *taila-siddhamāmsa*⁶ or *pariśuṣka māmsa*.⁷ In the beginning of the fourth century the author of *Āṅgavijjā* names a number of articles of food such as *moreṇḍaka*, *śaṣkuli*, *pāpa*, *phenaka*, *utkārīkā* and *dīvalikā*⁸ which are made by frying even to this day.

Caraka (1st century A.D.) in his medical treatise calls fried articles *snehasiddhāp*.⁹ He mentions almost all the articles named above. The preparation of *śaṣkuli*, which was a cake of rice flour mixed with seasamum, fried in ghee, is referred to by Patañjali¹⁰ (c. 150 B.C.). *Apūpas* and *vaṭaka* are mentioned in the *Dharmasūtras* (B.C. 600—B.C. 300).¹¹

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 78, f.n.

² *ibid.*, p. 78, f.n.

³ *ibid.*, p. 65, f.n.

⁴ Suśruta. Su. 46, Bhakṣyavarga.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Suśruta. Su. 46. 357.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *Āṅgavijjā*, p. 182.

⁹ Caraka. Su. 27. 269.

¹⁰ Patañjali I. 1.47.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 37, f.n. 3.

Pāṇini (c. 500 B.C.) mentions two 'sweet preparations *Apūpa*¹ and *saṁyāva*² which imply a full acquaintance with the process of frying. The history of *Apūpa* goes back to the time of the Rg-veda (c. 1500 B.C.).³ But *Apūpa* also means an ordinary cake baked on charcoals or in an oven. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the Rg-veda the word *ghṛtavantam*⁴ and in the Atharvaveda the epithet *madhumān*⁵ are used with *Apūpa* which imply that clarified butter and honey were used in its preparation. As such it is clear that in both these works the word *apūpa* means a sweet cake of rice or barley meal fried in ghee on a slow fire and not ordinary cakes in which no frying is required.

In view of the above evidence there remains no ground for any doubt about the statement that the Indians were fully acquainted with the process of frying from the earliest times and there seems no justification for holding the view that the process of frying was introduced into India by the Muslims.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 36, f.n. 1.

² F.D.A.I., p. 41, f.n. 4.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 9 and 10.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 1.

APPENDIX II

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Ikṣu, the common word for sugar-cane is not mentioned in the Rg-veda but Śrī B. Majumdar is of opinion that *kuśara*¹ refers to sugarcane. *Ikṣu* is, however, mentioned in all the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda² and chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the Atharvaveda.³ But there is no mention of *guḍa* and the sweetening ingredient seems to have been honey. It is possible that the process of making *guḍa* was known to the Proto-Australoids and the Aryans learnt it from them.⁴

By the time of the Sūtras *guḍa* loses its exotic nature. It is used in all the domestic rituals.⁵ Pāṇini mentions not only *guḍa*⁶ but also *Phāṇita*⁷ (inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled down to thick consistency, Hindi—*rāb*) and *Sarkarā*⁸ (sugar). He derives the word *Gauḍa* from *guḍa* which makes us infer that the industry probably first developed mostly in Bengal where sugarcane was grown. In the early Buddhist canonical works the use of *guḍa* is permitted⁹ to the followers of the Buddha and it is stated that rice meal and ashes were used in preparing it.¹⁰

The Europeans were ignorant of sugarcane production. Alexander was surprised to see reeds from which 'the barbarians across the Indus' obtained all the honey they wanted.¹¹ Kautilya mentions not only *phāṇita* and *guḍa* but also sugarcandy (*mat-syaṇḍikā*), raw sugar (*khaṇḍa*) and granulated sugar (*sarkarā*).¹² In the epics we come across *sarkarā*¹³ as well as sweets prepared both from *guḍa*¹⁴ and *khaṇḍa*.¹⁵ But in the ritual *guḍa* continued to be used because in the words of Prof. J.C. Ray 'the old in

¹ Rv. I., 191. 3. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 4.

² F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 5.

³ Av. I., 34.5. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 6.

⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 3.

^{5,7} F.D.A.I., p. 41.

⁶ India as known to Pāṇini, p. 109.

^{7,10} F.D.A.I., p. 68, f.n. 5 and 6.

^{11,12} F.D.A.I., p. 91, f.n. 7.

¹³ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 4.

¹⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 3.

¹⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 6.

all countries hold their sway even when better substitutes are known.¹

In the time of Caraka two varieties of sugar-cane *Paṇḍraka* and *Vamśaka*² were known. Of these the former was considered better than the latter.³ The *Paṇḍraka* variety was probably grown in Puṇḍra country (North Bengal). This is also evident from the statement of Raviṣeṇa that the *Paṇḍraka* variety was grown near Rajagṛha.⁴ Caraka describes all the products mentioned by Kauṭilya.⁵ He states that the coolness of these substances increases with the increase in their whiteness.⁶ Thus according to him *Sarkarā* is the coolest of all. He also mentions sugars prepared from *yavāsa* (a kind of grass) and honey.⁷

Kāśyapa mentions a third variety of sugarcane and calls it *Sāmudra* which he considers inferior to the other two.⁸ In the *Suśruta Samhitā* the number of varieties of sugar-cane reaches twelve⁹ but the most famous varieties were probably only five which have been mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa I.¹⁰ *Suśruta* also mentions sugar prepared from *Madhūka* flowers.¹¹ In the *Harṣa-carita* a distinction is made between red (*pāṭala*) and white (*karka*) sugar,¹² which shows that the industry had fully developed early in the seventh century and all the products of sugarcane were in use. The Persian and the English words for sugar *kand* and *candy* seem to be derivations of the Sanskrit word *khaṇḍa*. In view of the above facts it may not be unjustifiable to conclude this account with the words of Watt 'that the world is indebted to India'¹³ for this industry.

¹ 'Sugar Industry in India' by Prof. J. C. Ray in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV. No. 4. (1918).

² Caraka, Su. 27.237.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Jain Padma Purāṇa, Ch. II.

⁵ Caraka, Su. 27. 237-241.

⁶ Caraka, Su. 27.239.

⁷ Caraka, Su. 27. 240-241.

⁸ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 1.

⁹ F.D.A.I., p. 143, f.n. 8.

¹⁰ F.D.A.I., p. 178, f.n. 8.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 5.

¹² F.D.A.I., p. 179, f.n. 2.

¹³ Dicy. of Eco. Products of India, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 28-36.

APPENDIX III

BETEL CHEWING IN ANCIENT INDIA

On the basis of philological studies scholars¹ think that the two words *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and *giwāka* (areca nut) are of Austric origin hence it seems likely that the Proto-Australoids first used these articles. Another word *Pāga* (areca nut) seems to be of Dravidian origin. There are two possibilities either the custom originated on the coasts of Southern India or it must have been imported from the East Indian Archipelago where the custom is prevalent to this day. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India (Vol. VI(i) pp. 247-256) the betel leaf is probably a native of Java. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that the word *nāga-vallī* used for a betel leaf may signify the creeper growing in the country of elephants and serpents and perhaps refers to South India, the home of these creatures.² But the problem remains unsolved for want of evidence.

There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. Even the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya make no mention of it. This conclusively proves that the custom was not prevalent among the Vedic Aryans.

According to Dr. K.A.N. Sastri the habit of eating betel leaves with lime and areca nut perhaps came into use after the Sangam Age.³ But the custom may be prior to 200 B.C. as there are references to it in some of the early Buddhist and Jain works.⁴

Kauṭilya mentions betel nut⁵ but does not refer to the custom of betel chewing. Caraka, Kāśyapa and Suśruta refer to the practice and Caraka mentions all the ingredients used in the

¹ F.D.A.I., pp. 2-3.

Cf. 'The Romance of Betel chewing in Poison Damsels and other Essays' by N.M. Penzer London, 1952, p. 189 quoted by Sri J.S. Pade.

² Introduction to *Tāmbūla Mañjarī* Journal of Oriental Institute (M.S. University Baroda Oriental Series), Vol. VII, 1957-58.

³ A History of South India, p. 130.

⁴ Jatakas No. 51 and 52. Visuddhimagga, p. 324. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, p. 49. Aupapātika Sūtra, Section 38, p. 50.

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 96, f.n. 1.

preparation of betel leaves such as areca nut, cubeb-pepper, camphor, cloves, nutmegs and cardamom.¹

In the Gupta period the custom seems to have become common as it is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the medical treatises and the literary works of the period.²

In the Post—Gupta period the practice is referred to by Alberuni and in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* and most of the literary works of the period.³ It is also mentioned in the later *Smṛtis*.⁴

The custom may be a Tāntric one. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that it was prevalent among the *Sūdras* from the earliest times but was adopted by the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* when they gave up Vedic *Samskāras* and were initiated by the *Brāhmaṇas* into the Tāntric cult.⁵ According to Sri Pade, since then the use of *Tāmbūla* became popular among all sections of the Hindu society.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 162, f.n. 5.

² F.D.A.I., p. 196, f.n. 3 to 5.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 232, f.n. 5 and p. 233, f.n. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Smṛtis* of *Laghuhārta*, *Laghu Āśvalāyana* and *Auśānasa*.

⁵ See p. 253, f.n. (2).

APPENDIX IV

SMOKING IN ANCIENT INDIA

Before writing on this subject I should like to make it clear that the word smoking is not used here in the restricted and limited sense which it has acquired in our times for the smoking of tobacco, as we know that it was introduced into India by the Portuguese about 1600 A.D. In our ancient past we had other means and better ingredients, far more fragrant and health-giving, which gave the fullest satisfaction to the smoker not only without injuring his health but also improving it. Almost all the ancient Indian medical works give recipes of ingredients used in smoking.¹ In Bāṇa's Kādambarī, King Śūdraka is represented as smoking a fragrant cigar-like preparation.² Dāmodaragupta who wrote about a century later, gives us a picture of a lady who takes her seat near her lover after enjoying a smoke of the same kind.³

Of *Dhūmavartīs*, as these cigar-like preparations are called in our books, the medical works mention five types :—the ordinary *Prāyogikī* which was meant for daily use and four others which were used to cure certain ailments.⁴ The *Prāyogikivartī* consisted of aromatic ingredients like cardamom, saffron, sandal wood, aloewood and *uśīra*. To these were added resin and the nicely cut thin barks of trees like the banyan and the *pīpal* all of which are known to burn very quickly and have some fragrance of their own. The resulting mixture was then ground finely, made into a paste and coated on a hollow reed nearly six inches long which when dried had the thickness of a thumb. The reed was removed when dried and the resulting cigar like *vartī* was

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3 and p. 197, f.n. 3, Kāśyapa Kalpa Dhūpa 4. Suśruta Cikitsā 40. 1-18.

Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 1.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 3.

⁴ धूपः पञ्चविधो भवति तद्यथा प्रायोगिकः स्नेहिको, वैरेचनिकः, कासस्थो, वामनीय-श्चेति ।

smeared with clarified butter before use. It yielded one of the most agreeable smokes.¹

Many are the virtues ascribed to smoking. It soothed the nerves, put the smoker in a cheerful mood, strengthened his teeth and hair and sweetened his breath. It cured also cough, asthma, headache, eyesore, bad throat, pain in the ear, laziness and many other diseases caused by imbalance of wind and phlegm.² Would not even the advertiser of some modern brand of a cigar envy the description of the *Dhūmavartī* smoked by Sūdraka and his contemporaries.

Some modern people are chain smokers. There might have been many such in ancient India for one medical writer found it necessary to state that smoking, indulged in excessively or at wrong times could lead to ill health.³ It was good to smoke after bath, meals, cleaning the teeth, and getting up from bed.⁴ It was good also to have this fragrant smoke after vomiting, sneezing, application of collyrium or smelling a snuff powder.⁵ It was prescribed that a person who has taken a purgative, who has been poisoned, a pregnant woman, a person in grief or a person very tired or intoxicated, one who has kept awake all night or an unconscious person should avoid smoking. Smoking was also to be avoided after the taking of liquor, milk, oils, honey or rice with curds. One should also avoid smoking when one is in anger, when one's throat is dry, or when one is suffering from diseases like diphtheria.⁶

The proper method of smoking is also prescribed. A person while smoking should sit with his body erect and in a comfortable position. He should take three puffs at a time.⁷ He should inhale the smoke with his mouth and nostrils but should exhale it only through the nostrils.⁸

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3. C.f. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.3.
Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² Caraka. Su. 5. 25-31. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.15-16.

³ Caraka. Su. 5. 36-37.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 5. 36.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 5. 34. 35.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 5. 39-44.

⁷ *Ibid.* Su. 5. 46-47. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.18.

⁸ *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.7.

It is difficult to say when the practice of smoking first started in India. It is not found in the Vedic literature and the Śmṛtis. The earliest references are found in the medical works, the compilation of some of which took place at the courts of foreign rulers like Kaniṣka. So it is not unlikely that the type of smoking referred to in these pages was also a foreign innovation and that later on the Indians took quite naturally and quickly to tobacco smoking also because of their earlier habits. In the vicinity of the Hindukush mountain from where probably smoking reached India, smoking of the type described, is even now regarded as something having almost mystic properties which can bring about a state of trance. After such a smoke, the medium is believed to get into touch with spirits and the supernatural world.¹

¹ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, New York, 1951.

APPENDIX V

A SHORT NOTE ON 'Sthālī' (a cooking pot)

Sthālī is one of the utensils which Indians have been using at least since the time of the Yajurveda.¹ Dr. B.N. Puri has in his recent publication 'India in the time of Patañjali' p. 100 explained the word as a 'a big earthen dish or pan now known as *sthālī*'. It would be seen from the following references that the word all along has the sense of a cooking utensil. In the *Mānasollāsa* it is mentioned at two places and at both the places it is used for cooking meat.² In the *Amarakośa* *sthālī* is given as a synonym of *piṭhara* and *ukhā* which are both cooking utensils.³

In the *Daśakumāra-carita* a girl asks her companions to bring a *sthālī* from the market for cooking rice for a guest.⁴ In the *Nalapākadarpaṇa* a *sthālī* is used for boiling rice.⁵ In the epics a *sthālī* is said to have a neck and is used for cooking vegetables and other food articles and storing liquids such as curds.⁶

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 27, 86. Av. VIII. 6.17.

² सुतप्ते च घृते पश्चाल्लघुनं हिङ्गुना सह ।
प्रक्षिप्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् ।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्यात् किञ्चित्कालं प्रतीक्ष्य च ।
उत्तारयेत्ततः सिद्धं

Manas. III. 1460.61.

अनेनैव प्रकारेण जर्जरीकृत्य खण्डकान् ।
स्थाल्यामम्लेन संयोज्य पाचयेद्विङ्गुनासह ।

Manas. III. 1466.

³ पिठरः स्थाल्युल्लोकुण्डम् कलशस्तुत्रिपुद्गयोः ।

Amar. III. 9.31.

⁴ मितपचांस्थालीमुभेशरावे चाहुर इति ।

Daśakumāracarita VI. p. 423.

⁵ क्षालयेत्तान् बृधः सम्यगीयदुष्णेन वारिणा ।
शुद्धोदकं पुनःस्थाल्यां पूरयेत्तान्निभागिकम् ।
चुत्वामारोपयेत् स्थालीं पूरितां पाककोविदः ।

Nalapakadarpaṇa. p. 6.

⁶ स्थाल्याः कण्ठेऽथसंलग्नं शाकान्नं वीक्ष्यकेशवः ।

Mbh. Van. 263. 24.

पात्रीणां च सहस्राणि स्थालीनां नियुतानि च ।
न्यबुद्धानि च पात्राणि शालकुम्भमयानि च ।
स्थाल्यः कुम्भ्यः करंभ्यश्च दधि पूर्णाः सुसंस्कृताः ।

Ram. Ay. 91. 71-72.

In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Sūtras the word *sthālīpāka* has very often been used and means any food article cooked in a *sthālī*.¹

In view of all these references in the classical as well as Vedic literature it seems almost certain that *sthālī* has the sense of a cooking utensil even in Patañjali. This interpretation is also supported by the phrase *sthālīpūlakanyāya* which means just as we know about the quality of rice cooked in a *sthālī* by taking out one grain of boiled rice from it so do we judge the whole by its part.

¹ यस्या मेवस्थाल्यां प्रायणीयं निर्वपेत्स्यामुदयनीयं निर्वपेत् ।

Ait. Bra. I. 11.

अथाभिप्रातरेव स्थालीपाकाकुलाज्यं श्वेष्टित्वा स्थालीपाकस्योपघातं जुहोत्यग्नये...
स्वाहेति ह्रस्वोद्धृत्य प्रादनाति..... ।

Brhad. Up. VI. 4.19.

उत्पूतेन नवनीतेनानुत्पूतेन वा सर्पिषा स्थालीपाकमभिधायै एकं स्यादां मेक्षणमासाद्य
स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3. 7.8.

अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वैककपालंअवप्लुतः स्यात् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

कुसरःस्थालीपाकः ।

Kbadir. Gr. Su. II. 226.

तिलमुद्गं मिश्र ॐ स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा ।

Par. Gr. Su. I. 15.4.

आज्यंस्थालीपाकीयान् ग्रीहीन् वा यवान् वा चरुस्थाली मेक्षणं सुयमनुमुप्ता अपइति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

APPENDIX VI

NOTES ABOUT THE ANTIQUITY OF SOME ARTICLES OF FOOD IN INDIA

A. Cereals.

1. *Akuṣṭhaka*. (Knod Kuttu)—The earliest mention is in the Sūtra Kṛtāṅga.

2. *Aṇu* or *Cinaka*. (*Panicum Miliaceum*, Hindi—*Cinā*)—The Yajurveda and the early Buddhist works mention it. The name *Cinaka* suggests its foreign origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Egypt or Arabia.

3. *Gavidbhukā*. (Corn *Lacryma*, Hindi—*Garabednā*)—The Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda show that it was used as a food grain. According to Āpastamba it was an uncultivated grain, hence it seems indigenous.

4. *Godhūma*. (*Triticum vulgare*, Hindi—*Gebun*)—De Candolle thinks that wheat was grown in Mesopotamia from Pre-historic times. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal was of opinion that it was imported from Persia as the Sanskrit word *Godhūma* seems to be a modification the Persian word *Gandum*. But Sylvan Levy thinks that the Aryans came into India with a knowledge of wheat. However, as the word *Godhūma* is not mentioned in the Ṛg-veda it seems that it was not the staple food grain of the Aryans. Vevilov came to the conclusion that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab. It has been identified in the Indus valley as well as Nevada Toli which shows that it has been in use from about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. But it continued to be exotic with the Aryans for a long time. In the Sūtras, the daily offerings are made with rice and barley and not wheat. Even the medical treatise of Caraka mentions two varieties of wheat among the inferior cereals. Even Dhanvantari calls it the food of the Mlecchas. But it seems to have become popular by the time of Kṣīrasvāmī.

5. *Hāyana*. A red variety of rice mentioned in the Yajurveda.

6. *Jūrṇa*. (*Holcus Sorghum*, Hindi—*Juār*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Tropical Africa.

The medical works of Caraka, Bhela and Kāśyapa mention it for the first time. The name *Yāvanāla* makes it probable that it may have been introduced by the Greeks. (For details please see Dr. Gode's article).

7. *Kaṅgu*. (*Setaria italica* Hindi—*Kaṅgaṇī*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. The Samhitās of the Yajurveda mention *Priyaṅgu*. A dark variety with large grains is called *Varaka* (*Pharseolus Trilobus*) by Kauṭilya. The Sūśruta mentions four varieties black, red, yellow and white. Probably the brown variety is called *Kuruvinḍa* by Caraka.

8. *Kodrava*. (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, Hindi—*Kodon*)—Kauṭilya mentions it among the grains of the first crop. It was considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. A wild variety of *Kodrava* is called *Dāraka* by Kauṭilya and *Uddālaka* by Caraka.

9. *Nīvāra*. (Wild rice, Hindi—*Tinnī*)—It is a *trṇa dhānya* and is mentioned in the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain and it is considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. Two varieties *dārūnivāra* and *Prasāntikā* are mentioned.

10. *Rālaka*. (*Mālakaṅgaṇī* in Hindi)—Two varieties, one black and the other yellow, are mentioned in the Aṅgavijjā.

11. *Sāli*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi—*Cāval*)—a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *Jaḍaban*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini.

12. *Ṣaṣṭika*. (Hindi—*Sāṭhī*)—A variety of rice mentioned by Pāṇini which took sixty days to ripen. It is probably the *āśudbhānya* of the Yajurveda.

13. *Syāmāka*. (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Hindi—*Samā*)—It is mentioned in the Samhitās of the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain hence it seems to be indigenous. It was used by hermits. We come across two varieties *Rājaśyāmāka* and *Ambhaś-Syāmāka* or *toya śyāmāka*. A third variety *Hastī-śyāmāka* is mentioned by Vagbhata I.

14. *Upavāka*. (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Hindi—*Indrayau*)—At the time of the compilation of the Yajurveda it was used in preparing a gruel. It is later called *Indrayava* and *Kaliṅga*. The latter name shows that it was mainly grown in Kaliṅga (Orissa region).

15. *Venuyava*. (Seeds of bamboo, Hindi—*Bāns ke bīja*)—have been used as food from the time of Āpastamba who calls it an uncultivated food grain.

16. *Vrihi*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi—*Cāwal*)—De Condelle thought the grain to have originated in South India. Vevilov also holds more or less a similar view. Dr. S.K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Vrihi* has Iranian affinities but the common word for rice *Cāwal* in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kolor Munda root 'Jom' to eat. The word 'tapdula' for husked rice also seems to be of Austric origin. The probability is that it was introduced by the Proto-Australoids. There is no definite evidence to show that it was grown in the Indus valley and the word is not mentioned in the Ṛg-veda but is mentioned in the Yajurveda. The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevada Toli and rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi* and we know that it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. It had become the staple food of the Indians before the beginning of the Christian era. Its wide popularity is evident from a number of varieties mentioned in the Saṃhitās of Caraka and Suśruta. Suśruta gives the following 39 varieties of rice:—

I—*Sāli rice*

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Lobita Sāli</i> | 10. <i>Sitabbīruka</i> |
| 2. <i>Kalama</i> | 11. <i>Rodhrapūṣpaka</i> |
| 3. <i>Kardamaka</i> | 12. <i>Dirghasūka</i> |
| 4. <i>Pāṇḍuka</i> | 13. <i>Kāñcanaka</i> |
| 5. <i>Sugandbaka</i> | 14. <i>Mahiṣa</i> |
| 6. <i>Sakunābhṛta</i> | 15. <i>Mahāsūka</i> |
| 7. <i>Puṣpāṇḍaka</i> | 16. <i>Hāyanaka</i> |
| 8. <i>Puṇḍarīka</i> | 17. <i>Dūṣaka</i> |
| 9. <i>Mahāsāli</i> | 18. <i>Mahādūṣaka</i> |

II—*Vrihi rice*

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 19. <i>Kṛṣṇavrihi</i> | 24. <i>Tvaritaka</i> |
| 20. <i>Sālāmukha</i> | 25. <i>Kukkuṣapāṇḍaka</i> |
| 21. <i>Jarumukha</i> | 26. <i>Pārāvataka</i> |
| 22. <i>Nandimukha</i> | 27. <i>Pāṭala</i> |
| 23. <i>Lāvāṇṣaka</i> | |

III—*Ṣaṣṭika rice*

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 28. <i>Ṣaṣṭika</i> | 34. <i>Asana</i> |
| 29. <i>Kāṅguḥka</i> | 35. <i>Puṣṭhaka</i> |
| 30. <i>Mukandaka</i> | 36. <i>Mahāṣaṣṭhika</i> |
| 31. <i>Pitaka</i> | 37. <i>Cūrṇaka</i> |
| 32. <i>Pramodaka</i> | 38. <i>Kuravāka</i> |
| 33. <i>Kākalaka</i> | 39. <i>Kedāra</i> |

For the varieties of rice given by Caraka please see F.D.A.I., p. 134.

17. *Yava*. (*Hordeum Vulgare*, Hindi—*Jau*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it has been grown in India from very remote times. It has been identified in the Indus valley and was the staple food grain of the Ṛgvedic Aryans. A wild variety is mentioned by Pāṇini and Pliny. Kautilya calls it *Yavaka* probably it may be identified with oats. A large variety is called *atīyava* by Suśruta. Unripe green grains of barley are called *tokma*.

B. *Pulses*.

1. *Aḍbhakī*. (*Cajanus indicus*, Hindi—*Arhar*)—The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.) but is mentioned for the first time by Caraka. It is also called *Tuvarī*. The Mānasollāsa calls the dark variety *Kṛṣṇāḍbhakī*.

2. *Āliṣaṇḍaga* (a variety of chickpea, Hindi—*maṭar*)—According to Sylvan Levi it was a grain which was grown in Alexandria and was introduced into India after Alexander's invasion. Caraka and early Jain canonical works mention it.

3. *Caṇaka*. (*Cicer arietinum*, Hindi—*canā*)—Dr. G. P. Majumdar on the basis of Mahādhara has interpreted *Khalva*, which occurs in the Yajurveda, as *Caṇaka*. On the other hand Dr. P. K. Gode is of opinion that the grain was probably introduced into the Panjab by the Greeks sometime between (B.C. 190—A.D. 20). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from the south of the Caucasus or of the Caspian Sea. It was grown in Egypt from very early times. The earliest mention in Indian literature is in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Sūtra. In the time of Amarasimha it was mainly used as food for horses. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.). If it be a fact the theory of Dr. Gode cannot hold water.

4. *Garmut*. (Wild bean, Hindi-*Kulatbī*)—is mentioned in the Samhitas of the Yajurveda and was used as a pulse.

5. *Kalāya*. (*Pisum arvens*, Hindi-*Matar*)—Charred Peas from Harappa are thought to be of a cultivated variety. The grain has also been discovered at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the grain originated from Italy but existed in India before the arrival of the Aryans. It is mentioned in early Buddhist literature and Kauṭilya. We come across three varieties *Satīna*, *Khaṇḍikā* and *Hareṇu*. *Khaṇḍikā* is also called *Tripuṣaka* (Hindi-*Khesari*). Someśvara calls it *Vaṭṭāṇaka*.

6. *Kulattha*. (*Delichos biflorus*, Hindi-*Kulatbī*)—The word '*Khalakula*' is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. It is interpreted as *Kulattha* by Dr. G.P. Majumdar. Probably *Garmut* also means *Kulattha* as the former is regarded as an uncultivated grain by Āpastamba. Hence it seems to be indigenous. Pāṇini mentions *Kulattha* for the first time. Suśruta also mentions a wild variety, *vanya Kulattha*.

7. *Makuṣṭha*. (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*, Hindi-*Moṭh*)—Āpastamba probably calls it *Mārkaṭaka* which was an uncultivated grain. The earliest mention of *Makuṣṭha* is in the Tait. Bra. It is also called *Vana mudga*.

8. *Māṣa*. (*Phaseolus Radiatus*, Hindi-*Uṛad*)—It has been discovered at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.) and has been mentioned in the Yajurveda. A taboo against its use is found in the Samhitās which makes us conclude that it was originally used by non-Aryans. Suśruta mentions a wild variety, *aranya māṣa*. Kṣīrasvāmī interprets *Kulmāṣa* in the sense of an inferior variety of *Māṣa* in addition to the usual meaning of the word, a gruel.

9. *Masūra*. (*Lens esculenta*, Hindi-*Masūra*)—It has been in use from the time of the Yajurveda. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Egypt or Europe. The prohibition against its use in a *Srāddha* shows its exotic nature. Suśruta mentions a variety called *Māṇḍalya*.

10. *Mudga*. (*Phaseolus Mungo*, Hindi-*Māṅg*)—A very important pulse from the time of the Yajurveda. Vagbhata II mentions a black variety, *Kṛṣṇa Mudga* and a large variety called

Mahāmudga probably *rājamudga* of Someśvara. But the green variety was considered the best.

11. *Niṣpāva*. (Carnavali ensiformis, Hindi—*Bhaṭabāns*)—Sāyaṇa interprets *Khalva* as *niṣpāva*. The earliest mention of *niṣpāva* is in the Caraka Saṁhitā.

12. *Rājamāṣa*. (Vignocajang, Hindi—*rājamā*)—Possibly Kauṭilya calls it *Simbi* but the word *Rājamāṣa* is first used by Caraka. It was considered exotic hence its use is prohibited in a *Srāddha*. The Hindi word *Lobiā* is from the Greek word 'Lobos'.

C. Oilseeds.

1. *Atasī*. (Linum usitatissimum, linseed, Hindi—*Alsi*)—Kauṭilya, Aṅgavijjā and the early Jain cononical works mention it.

2. *Eraṇḍa*. (Castor seed, Ricinus communis, Hindi—*Araṇḍa*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. Kauṭilya calls it *Hastikarṇa* but the word *eraṇḍa* is used even in the Śaṅkh. Āraṇyaka (XII 8). It is also mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. VI (i) p. 518 it is wild in Africa and S. Asia.

3. *Ingudi*. (Ximenia aegyptiaca, Hindi—*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV 3.164) and Kauṭilya. The oil was used by hermits for their lamps.

4. *Kusumbha*. (Carthamus tinctorius Safflower, Hindi—*Kasūma*)—The earliest mention is by Kauṭilya. The oil extracted from it is considered the worst by Vāgbhaṭa I.

5. *Rājikā*. (Brassica Juncea, Hindi—*rāi*)—A species of brassica which was grown in the Indus Valley. It seems to have been used by the non-Aryans, as Amarasiṁha calls it suitable for Asuras. It was known to Kauṭilya. A variety of *rājikā* is called *baja* in the Atharvaveda.

6. *Sarṣapa*. (Brassica Campesbri, Hindi—*Sarson*)—It is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The white variety (Brassica alba) was considered good as it is called *Siddhārtha*. The red variety was also known to Kauṭilya. The Aṅgavijjā mentions a variety called *rāja sarṣapa*. Huen Tsang noted that mustard oil was in common use.

7. *Tila*. (Sesamum indicum, Hindi—*Til*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (ii) p. 510) it was originally

a native of Africa but was brought to India before the advent of the Aryans. A lump of charred sesamum was discovered in the Indus region. The word is used in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. It was used both as an article of food and for extracting oil. But it seems that in the beginning it was used mainly by the non-Aryans. It is probably the earliest oil seed in India as the word 'Tila' is derived from it. A wild variety called *Jartila* is mentioned in the Tait. Sam. (V. 4.32). Three varieties of sesamum white, red and black are mentioned in the Aṅgavijjā. Caraka considers *Tila* oil to be the best of all the oils.

D. Fruits.

1. *Abhiṣuka*. (Hindi-*Cilgozā*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other writers on medicine. Dalhaṇa explains it as a nut obtained from the northern regions.

2. *Aiṅguda*. (Hindi-*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Caraka.

3. *Airāvata*. Same as *nāraṅga* mentioned by Caraka.

4. *Ākṣikāphala*. (Beleric myrobalan, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned by Caraka—see *Vibhītaka*.

5. *Ākṣoṭa*. (Walnut, Hindi-*Ākharot*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and later medical works.

6. *Āmalaka*. (Emblie Myrobalan, Hindi-*Āmalā*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Br. (I.38.6), Chand Up. VII.3.1 and Kaut. (II 1519). The medical works regard it as one of the good fruits.

7. *Amlavetasa*. (Common Sorrel, Hindi-*Amalvent*)—It is mentioned by Caraka among sour fruits.

8. *Amlīkā*. (Tamarind, Hindi-*Imālī*)—Caraka and other medical works mention it among sour fruits. It is also called *Ciñcāphala* which word appears to be of Dravidian origin. The Dicy. of Eco. Products states that it is indigenous in Africa.

9. *Āmra*. (Mangifera Indica, Hindi-*Ām*)—From his study based on philology, archaeology and historical evidence De Candolle (1883) proved that mango originated in South Asia (Maluccas or Malay Archipelago) and Vevilov confirmed this view. Mukerjee (1951) came to the conclusion that mango originated in Indo-Burma and Indo-China region where about 33 species are found even to-day. The fruit is mentioned in the Bṛhad. Up. and by Pāṇini. Kauṭilya also mentions *Cāta*. It is

also called *rasāla* and *Sabakāra*. A green mango fruit is called *Kosāmra* in the medical works.

10. *Āmrātaka*. (*Spondias mangifera*, Hogplum, Hindi-*Āmḍa*)—mentioned by Caraka, Bṛhat-Saṃhitā and early Jain canonical works.

11. *Āṅkoṣa*. (*Alangium*, Hindi-*Āṅkoṣa*)—mentioned by Caraka. Amara. gives *Nikocaka* as a synonym.

12. *Āruka*. (*Bokhara plum?*, Hindi-*Ālubukhārā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

13. *Āruṣkara*. (*Marking-nut*, Hindi-*Bhilāvā*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta. It is called *Bhallātaka*, by Caraka.

14. *Āsmantaka*. (Hindi-*Āsanta*, a kind of *Kacanār*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It is also called *Sapbarī*.

15. *Āsvakarna*. (*Sal* Hindi-*Sakbavā*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the eastern regions.

16. *Āsvattha*. (*Ficus Religio*, Hindi-*Pīpal*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.48).

17. *Badara*. (*Zizyphus* Sp., Hindi-*Ber*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda and Pāṇini and is a large sized jujube. Kautilya and the medical works invariably mention it among Indian fruits.

18. *Bakula*. (*Mimusops Elengi*, Hindi-*Maulsirī*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta and later medical works.

19. *Bhallātaka*. Same as *Āruṣkara*.

20. *Bhavya*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakb?*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other medical works. Also see *Kāmarāṅga*.

21. *Bilva*. (*Aegle marmelos*, Hindi-*Bel*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Rāmāyaṇa and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works.

22. *Bimbi*. (*Cephalandia indica*, Hindi-*Kandūrī*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Bra. (III. 5.6).

23. *Cināni*. (*Peaches*.)—According to Yuan Chwang the fruit was introduced into India by the Chinese.

24. *Ciñcā*. (*tamarind*, Hindi-*Imalī*)—The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. Also see *Amlikā*.

25. *Dādīma*. (*Punica granatum*, Pomegranate, Hindi-*Anār*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but according to the Dicy. of Economic Products (Vol. VII (i) p. 369) it is wild in Persia and Afghanistan. The tree forms 'on the utensils sug-

gest the existence of the fruit in the Indus Valley. Caraka and other medical works consider it a good fruit. Vagbhata I mentions two varieties one sour and the other sweet.

26. *Dantaśaṭha*. Same as *Jambīra*.

27. *Dhanvana*. (Hindi-*Dhāmana*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

28. *Drākṣā*. Same as *Mṛdvikā*.

29. Fig. (Hindi-*Anjīr*)—It was imported into India from Afghanistan and Persia.

(See Dr. P.K. Gode's Article. According to him it is not mentioned in the early medical works.)

30. *Gāṁgeruka*. It is first mentioned by Caraka. Probably same as *Nāgabala*.

31. *Jambīra*. (*Citrus Lemonum*—Hindi-*Jambīri nibū*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but an ear ornament suggests its presence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned in all the medical works and was very popular when Yuan Chwang visited India.

32. *Jambū*. (*Eugenia Jambalana*, Hindi-*Jāmun*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

33. *Kadalī*. (*Musa Sapientum* plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It was probably grown in the Indus Valley but there is a general unanimity among the Botanists that banana is native of India. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya and in the early medical works.

34. *Kalinda*. (Water melon)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. The fruit was grown in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Vagbhata II. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the fruit originated from Tropical Africa. It was cultivated by Ancient Egyptians. (II, p. 332).

35. *Kāmarāṅga*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakb*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin.

36. *Kapittha*. (*Feronia Limonia*, Hindi-*Kaitb*)—It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (IV 4.8) and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

37. *Karcūra*. (A species of Zeoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*)—mentioned by Caraka.

38. *Karamarda*. (*Carissa Carandas* Lim., Hindi-*Karaundā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

39. *Karañja*. (Indian beech fruit—Smooth leaved *Ponginia*)—mentioned by Caraka.

40. *Karira*. (*Cappris aphylla*, Hindi—*Babūla ke tenti*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda.

41. *Karkandhu*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*—small orange—reddish brown berries, Hindi—*Jbāri ke ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. The Sat. Bra. (V. 5. 4. 10) also mentions the two other varieties *Kwala* and *Badara*.

42. *Kaseruka*. (*Scripus Grossus*, Hindi—*Kaseru*)—mentioned by Suśruta and the Jain canonical works.

43. *Kāśmārya*. (*Gmelina Arborca*, Hindi—*Kāśmāri kē phala*) It is mentioned in the epics and by Caraka.

44. *Kharjūra*. (*Phoenix Sylvestrus*, Hindi—*Khajūr*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but the stones of dates have been found in the Indus Valley.

45. *Kola* or *Kwala*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*, Hindi—*Ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda and Suśruta. It is an average sized soft jujube.

46. *Lakuca*. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Hindi—*Badabal*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya. It is considered the worst fruit in the medical works.

47. *Lavali*. (*Chillie millie* or *Cicca disticha*, Hindi—*Haraphārevaḍi*)—A sour fruit mentioned by Caraka.

48. *Madbhāka*. (*Bassia Latifolia*, Hindi—*Mabua*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. (I. 34.5) and by Caraka. An intoxicating drink was prepared from it.

49. *Makālaka*. A sweet fruit growing in the north mentioned by Caraka.

50. *Mātulūṅga*. (*Citrus medica*, Hindi—*Bijaurā Nibū*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is called *Bijapūraka*.

51. *Moca*. Same as *Kadali*.

52. *Mṛdvikā*. (*Vitis vinifera*, Hindi—*Angūr*)—According to De Candolle its cultivation can be traced back to 4000 years, North-West India being a great centre of cultivation. Kauṭilya mentions it while Pāṇini calls it *Drākṣā* (Hindi—*Kismis*). Caraka mentions both the words. The fruit was imported into India from the North-West. In the Bharhut railings there is the figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it (Cunningham, pp. 32-33). In the Stūpas of Sāñchi

there is a figure which holds a bunch of grapes with a wine leaf in the left hand. (Grindwedel-Buddhist Art, p. 34).

53. *Nāgarāṅga*—(Citrus Aurantium, orange, Hindi-*Narāṅgi*) mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 472) the fruit was imported from China or Cochin China towards the beginning of the Christian era. The word *Santrā* is from a Portuguese town 'Cintre.'

54. *Nārikela*. (Cocos nucifera, Hindi-*Nariyal*)—The word appears to be of Austric origin. The tree forms suggest its existence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Caraka and in the Ramayana. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the tree originated in the Indian Archipelago.

55. *Nicula* (Barringtonia acutangula, Hindi-*Samudrāphala*) mentioned by Suśruta.

56. *Nikocaka*. (Pistachio, Hindi-*Pistā*)—mentioned by Suśruta among dry fruits as a fruit growing in northern regions.

57. *Nimbu*. (Citrus sp. Hindi-*Nibā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but India has a rich collection of various species of Citrus which is obviously a native of the country.

58. *Nīpa*. (Nauclea Kadamba, Hindi-*Kadamba*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.152).

59. *Nyagrodha*. (Ficus benghalensis, Hindi-*Baḍa*)—mentioned in the Ṛg-veda. It is also called *vaṭa*.

60. *Panasa*. (Artocarpus heterophyllus, Hindi-*Kaṭabaḥ*)—According to Burrow it was used by the Dravidians. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

61. *Pārāvata*. (a kind of apple, Hindi-*Pālevat*)—It is mentioned in Caraka and other medical works. It was grown in Assam.

62. *Parpaṭakīphala*. (Hindi-*Pittapāpadā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

63. *Parūṣaka*. (Grewia asiatica, Hindi-*Fālsā*)—mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works and Kauṭilya. Caraka also mentions a sour *Parūṣaka*. According to the Dicy. of Economic Products the fruit is indigenous in India. (Vol. IV, p. 177).

64. *Phalgu*. (Fruit of ficus glomerata?)—It is mentioned by Caraka. According to Dr. P. K. Gode it is not fig. (See his article.)

65. *Picu*. mentioned among the dry fruits by Suśruta. (Su. 46.187).

66. *Pīlu*. (*Careya arborea*, Hindi-*Pīlu*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. XX 135.12. and by Pāṇini.

67. *Plakṣa*. (*ficus lacor*, Hindi-*Pilakṣan*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

68. *Priyāla*. (*Chironjia Sapida*, Hindi-*Cironji*)—mentioned in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa and by Kauṭilya.

69. *Puṣkaravartī*. mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the north and was also called *Āmoda*.

70. *Rājādāna*. (*Mimospps Kanki*, Hindi-*Khirni*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya and Caraka. It is also called *Kṣīrī*.

71. *Samīphala*. (*Prospis spicigera*, Sponge tree fruit, Hindi-*Cbonkara*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 3. 88 and IV. 3.142.)

72. *Saphakā*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singāḍā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda IV. 39.5. In the medical works it is called *Sṛṅgāṭaka*.

73. *Sauvīra*. (*zizyphus Jujube*—big jujube Hindi-*unnāv*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya (II. 15.19) and Suśruta.

74. *Siñcitikāphala*. (apple, Hindi-*Seb?*)—According to Dalhaṇa it is a kind of jujube which is as big as a fist and is very sweet. It is grown in the northern regions. Caraka is the first to mention it. According to De Candolle it existed in Europe from Pre-historic times.

75. *Śitaphala*. (Custard apple, Hindi-*Sarifā*)—The fruit has been identified among the sculptures of the Ajanta caves as well as of the Bharhut Stūpa. It is mentioned by Suśruta but according to the Dicy. of Eco Products it was introduced by the Portuguese. According to Dalhaṇa it was known as *Rāvaṇāmlikā* or *Kāśmīrāmlikā*.

76. *Slesmātaka*. (*Cordiamyk*, Hindi-*Lisodā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya.

77. *Tālapphala*. (*Barassus Flabelli formis*, Hindi-*Tād kā phala*) mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

78. *Tanka*. A kind of *Kapittba*—mentioned by Suśruta.

79. *Tauvara*. (Wild almond, Hindi-*Caulmaungra*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

80. *Tinduka*. (*Diospyros Cembryapteres*, Hindi-*Tendū*)—It is mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works

and by Caraka. Amara. mentions a variety called *Kākatinduka*.

81. *Tintīṭika*. Same as *Ciñcā*.

82. *Todana*. mentioned by Suśruta among sour fruits.

83. *Tūda*. (Mulberry?, Hindi-*Sabatāt*?)—mentioned by Caraka.

84. *Tryaśūnya*. (A kind of Jasmin, Hindi-*Ketaki*?)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

85. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus glowmerata*, Hindi-*Gālar*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

86. *Urumāṇa*. (Pear?, Hindi-*Nāspātī*?)—Pears according to Yuan Chwang were introduced into India by the Chinese.

87. *Vartāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Bengan*)—mentioned by Caraka. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous.

88. *Vasira*. (Hindi-*Sūryāvartaphala*)—mentioned by Suśruta

89. *Vātāma*. (Almond, Hindi-*Bādām*)—Caraka mentions it among dry fruits. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it went from Persia to Asia Minor. (For details please see Dr. P. K. Gode's article).

90. *Vibhitaka*. (*Terminalia bellerica*, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned in the Ṛg-veda (III 86.6 and X 34.1).

91. *Vikanṅkata*. (*Flacourlia vamonchi*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. A thorny tree.

92. *Vetrāphala*. (The soft sprouts of *Catamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Benī Ke Ankur*).

93. *Vrkṣāmla*. (Hindi-*Kokam*)—mentioned by Kautilya among sour fruits.

E. Vegetables.

1. *Agastya*. (*Agita*, Hindi-*Hatīyā*)—Flowers are cooked. Caraka *Sākavarga*.

2. *Agnimanthaka*. (*Premna Inlegrifolia*, Hindi-*Arni*)—Suśruta.

3. *Alābu*. (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Hindi-*Lauki*)—Probably used by Proto-Australoids. Fruit is cooked. (Yajurveda, Av. VIII. 10.29 etc.

4. *Āluka*. (Tubers)—Caraka mentions *Piṇḍaluka* etc., Suśruta also mentions *Madhvāluka*, *Hastyaluka*, *Kāṣṭhāluka*, *Samīkāluka* and *Raktāluka*.

5. *Amlīkākaṇḍa*. A bulb grown in Assam., Caraka.

6. *Aṇḍikā*. (Nymphal alba)—Av. IV. 34.5. Its flowers were eaten.
7. *Aṅkaladya*. (Root of little blue lotus) Caraka.
8. *Āsurī*. (A kind of Brassica, Hindi-Rāī) Caraka.
9. *Āsvattha*. (Ficus religiosa, Hindi-Pīpal) Caraka.
10. *Avakā*. (Blyxa oryzetorum, Hindi-Sivār)—Kashmir potherb—Yajurveda and Av. IV. 378.
11. *Avalṅgā*. (Same as *Bakucī*, Hindi-Bābacī) Caraka.
12. *Bhaṇḍī*. (Ladies finger?, Hindi-Bhīṇḍī?)—Caraka, According to Rajanighaṇṭu it is *mañjiṣṭha*.
13. *Bilvapatra*. (Leaves of aegle marmelos, Hindi-Bel-ke-Patte) Caraka.
14. *Bimbipatra*. Leaves of the large flowered Bryonia. Leaves are cooked.
15. *Bimbītikā*. (Large flowered Bryonia, Hindi-Kundarī) fruit is cooked. Suśruta.
16. *Bisa*. (Lotus stalks, Hindi-Bhis) Caraka. The diggers of lotus stalks are mentioned in the Rv. VI. 61.2. Probably they were eaten.
17. *Bṛhatī*. (Indian Night shade, Hindi-Baḍī Kaṣerī) Suśruta.
18. *Cakramarda*. (Ovalleaved Cassia.)
19. *Cānigerī*. (Indian Sorrel, Hindi-Caupatiā) Caraka. A leafy vegetable.
20. *Cañcu*. (Water cressa or Carchorus Aentan—gularis, Hindi-Cañcu) Caraka.
21. *Cilli*. (Purple goose-foot, Hindi-Baḍā Bathnā) Caraka.
22. *Cicinḍa*. (Snakegourd, Hindi-Caceṇḍā) fruit is cooked Caraka.
23. *Cirbbiṭa*. (A kind of cucumber, Hindi-Pbāt) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
24. *Citraka*. (Plumbago zeylanica, rose coloured lead wort, Hindi-Cītā) Kauṭilya. Caraka.
25. *Ervārūka*. (Cucumber, Hindi-Kakaḍī)—Caraka.
26. *Gaṇḍīra*. (Hindi-Kaṇḍa Zimikand) Caraka.
27. *Gāngerūka*. (A little thorny plant bearing a white nectareous flower) Caraka.
28. *Gojibva*. (Elephants foot?, Hindi-Gaṇvān or Gojibhī) a leafy vegetable. Caraka.
29. *Grñjana*. (Carrot root, Hindi-Gājar) a root. Caraka.

30. *Jivaka*. (A plant growing on the Himalyas having a bulbous root and having round and long leaves. Pentaptera Tomentosa) Suśruta.

31. *Jivantī*. (Sarsaparila, Hindi-*Jivantī*) Best pot herb. Caraka.

32. *Kadalī*. (Plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*) Flowers and fruit are cooked. Suśruta. See fruits.

33. *Kākamācī*. (Nightshade Hindi-*Makoya*) Caraka.

34. *Kākaṇḍolā*. (cowhage) Caraka.

35. *Kalambī*. (Red Malabar night shade, Hindi-*Kalamī Sāk*) Caraka, a leafy vegetable.

36. *Kālāśāka*. (Maraya Korniji, Hindi-*Cūkā*) Caraka, a leafy vegetable.

37. *Kalāya*. (Field pea, Hindi-*Maṭar*) Kauṭilya II. 12.7 and Caraka. See pulses.

38. *Kaliṅga*. (Water melon, Hindi-*Tarbūzā*) Suśruta.

39. *Kaṇṭakārikā*. (Bitter sweet night shade, Hindi-*Kaṭeri*) Suśruta.

40. *Kāravella*. (Mormodica, Hindi-*Karelā*) Fruit is cooked. It is called *Kāriṣṭa* in the Kāśyapa Saṁ. It is mentioned in the Jain canonical works and Suśruta.

41. *Karbudāra*. Hindi-*Kacnār*. Caraka.

42. *Karkārūka*. (Very small pumpkin, Hindi-*Choṭā peṭhā*) Suśruta.

43. *Karkaśa*. Same as *Karkoṭaka*, a kind of *Paṭola*. Caraka.

44. *Karkaṣī*. (a variety of cucumber, Hindi-*Kakaḍī*) fruit is cooked.

45. *Karkoṭaka*. (Mormordica charantia, Hindi-*Kakoḍā*). Caraka.

46. *Kaseruka*. (Cyperus rotundus, Hindi-*Kaseru*) a root—Caraka. See fruits.

47. *Kaṣṭhillaka*. (A pot herb, Red variety of *Punarnavā*) Caraka *Sākavarga*.

48. *Kelūta*. Same as *kembuke*, Hindi-*Kemuā* or *kobī*, Tuber is eaten. Caraka.

49. *Kośātakī*. (Luffa pentandra, Hindi-*Kaṣavī Torai*) Fruit is cooked. It is indigenous according to the Dicy. of Eco. Products, Vol. V, p. 94. Kauṭilya, Suśruta.

50. *Kovidāra*. (Bauhinia variegata, Hindi-*Lal Kacanār*) Kauṭilya. Caraka.

51. *Krauñcādanī*. (a water tuber, Hindi *Kaumcādan*) Caraka.
52. *Kulaka*. (Hindi-*Kerelā* or *Parval bheda*) Caraka.
53. *Kumārājīva*. Hindi-*Jivāśāka*. Caraka.
54. *Kumuda*. (Nympha lotus, Hindi-*Safed Kamal*) Av. IV.
- 34.5, Caraka.
55. *Kuntalikā*. (Phyalis Indica, Hindi-*Pansokhā*) Suśruta.
56. *Kūṣmāṇḍa*. (Pumpkin gourd, Hindi-*Sitāphala*) Fruits is cooked. It is considered the best vegetable. Caraka.
57. *Kuśumbha*. (Safflower, Hindi-*Kaśm*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
58. *Kuṭberaka*. (A kind of holy Basil, Hindi-*Tulasī Bheda*) Caraka.
59. *Kuṭīnjara*. (Wild Goose foot, Hindi-*Jangli Bathuā*). Caraka.
60. *Kutumbuka*. (Hindi-*Gūmā ke patte*) Same as *Droṇapuṣpi*. A leafy vegetable. Caraka.
61. *Lakṣmaṇā*. A plant having upon its leaves red spots Av. II. 25.3, Caraka.
62. *Lāṅgalī*. (Hindi *Kalibārī*) Caraka.
63. *Laṣuṇa*. (*Allium sativum*, Garlic root, Hindi-*Labasun*) A tuber. Kasyapa Sam.
64. *Loṇikā*. (Common Indian Parselone, Hindi-*Luni* or *Kulḥā*) A leafy vegetable. Caraka *Sākavarga*.
65. *Loṭṭaka*. Hindi-*Laba māriṣa* Caraka, *śākavarga*.
66. *Maṇḍūkapaṇī*. (Indian pennywort, Hindi-*Brāhmī*) Caraka and early Jain canonical works.
67. *Māriṣa*. (*Amaranthus oleraceus*. Hindi-*Mariṣa*) A leafy vegetable.
68. *Maruvaka*. (*Vangueria spinosa*, Hindi-*Maruā* Kauṭilya.)
69. *Māṣapaṇī*. (*Teramus labialis* or *Glycine labialis*, Hindi-*vanaurāda*). (Av. II. 25.3. Caraka *Śākavarga*.) Dhanvantari I. 136 calls it *kāmbojī* which shows that, it was grown in *Kamboja* region.
70. *Methikā*. (Fenugreek, Hindi-*Methī*). According to Dr. P. K. Gode it was imported from Persia. Suśruta mentions *Aśvabalā* which is a variety of *methikā*. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI iv p. 86) it is wild in Kashmir. The word *methāka* is mentioned by Dhanvantari (See Dr. Gode's article.)
71. *Mūlaka*. (radish, Hindi-*Mūlī*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*. Soft unripe radish is considered good.

72. *Muñjātaka*. (*Nibu* grown in Northern India specially Kashmir, where it is called *Moboyaka*.) Caraka.
73. *Nāḍī*. (*Carchorus Oiltarius*.) Caraka.
74. *Nālikā*. (*Hindi-Nāḍī kā Sāk*) Same as *Kālasāka*.
75. *Nalinī*. Same as *Bisa*, *Hindi-Bhis*. Caraka.
76. *Nandimāśaka*. (*Hindi-Undi manavaka*) Caraka.
77. *Nimba*. (*Margosa tree*, *Hindi-Nim*) Caraka.
78. *Niṣpāva*. (*Flat bean*, *Hindi-Bhaṭbāns*) Caraka.
79. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, *Hindi-Baḍ*) Rv. I. 24.7. Caraka.
80. *Pālanḱya*. (*Spinacia aleracea*, *Hindi-Pālak*) a leafy vegetable. Early Jain canonical works, Caraka.
81. *Panasa*. See fruits.
82. *Palāṇḍu*. (*Allium Cepa*, *Onions*, *Hindi-Pyāz*) A root. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Persia and Afghanistan. Patañjali, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 17.26.
83. *Parpaṭaka*. (*Justicia procumbance*, *Hindi-Pittapāpādā*) Caraka.
84. *Parvaṇī*. Same as *Indra Vāruṇī*. Caraka.
85. *Pāṭhā*. (*Velvet leaf*, *Hindi-Pāṭhā*) Av. II. 27.4. Kauṭilya and Caraka.
86. *Paṭola*. (A kind of snakegourd, *Hindi-Paraval*) Fruit is cooked. Probably used by early Dravidians. Buddhist canonical works and Caraka.
87. *Phaṭṭji*. (a kind of leafy vegetable same as *Bhaṇṛgi*) Caraka.
88. *Piluparpi*. (*Hindi-Marbel*) Caraka.
89. *Pinḍāluka*. (A white variety of *Alocasia*, *Hindi-Ratālū?*) a root Kauṭilya, Caraka.
90. *Plakṣa*. (*Ficus arnottiana*, *Hindi-Pilkbum*) Yajurveda and Av. V. 5. Caraka.
91. *Prapunnāḍa*. Same as *Cakramarda*. Caraka.
92. *Punarnavā*. (*Hog's weed*, *Hindi-Viśakbaparā*) Suśruta.
93. *Puṣkarabīja* (*Nymphaea*, *Stellala*, *Hindi-Kamalgaṭṭā*) Rv. VI. 16.13 etc. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
94. *Rajakṣavaka* also called *Dugdḥikā*. Caraka *Sākavarga*.
95. *Rājamāṣa*. (*Cowpea*, *Hindi-Rājamā*) See Pulses. The Hindi word *lobia* is from the Greek word *Lobos*. According to De Candolle it is a native of Brazil and came to India from Mauritius. (Vol. VI 91 p. 186).

96. *Sakulādani*. (Purple Lippa, Same as Jalapippali, Hindi-*Kaṭuki* or *Jalapīpal*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

97. *Sālmali*. (*Bambax Ceiba*, Hindi-*Semal*) Flowers are cooked. Rv. VII. 50.3 etc. Caraka.

98. *Sāluka*. (*Nymphaea lotus*, the root of waterlily, Hindi-*Kamalkand*) Av. IV. 34.5, Caraka.

99. *Ṣaṇa*. (*Crotalaria juncea*, Hindi-*Sana*) Av. II. 4.5, Kauṭilya and Caraka.

100. *Sātalā*. (Soap nut acacia, Hindi-*Sātalā*) Suśruta.

101. *Saraṅgeṣṭā*. Same as *Maṅjiṣṭha*, Hindi-*Majīṣṭha*) Caraka.

102. *Sarpachatrāka*. (Mushroom, Hindi-*Khumbī*) Caraka *Sākavarga*.

103. *Sarṣapa*. (*Brassica Campestris*, Mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) leaves and stalk. Chand Up. II. 14.3, Caraka.

104. *Satapušpī*. (Leaf of Dillseed, Hindi-*Soyā*) Vagbhata II. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products VI. 1.187 it is a native of India.

105. *Satāvari*. (*Asparagus racemosus*, Hindi-*Satāvar*) Kauṭilya Caraka.

106. *Saṭi*. (Long Zedoary, Hindi-*Kachūr*) Same as *Kachūra* Caraka.

107. *Satīna*. (a kind of pea, Hindi-*Maṣar*) Suśruta. See pulses.

108. *Simbi*. (a legume) Fruit is cooked. The Hindi word *Sem* seems to be derived from it. Kauṭilya.

109. *Sigrū*. (*Moringapte rygosperma*, Horse radish tree, Hindi-*Senjana*) a leafy vegetable. It is also called *Saubhaṅjana*. Kauṭilya.

110. *Sīrṇavṛnta*. Same as *Cirbbiṣa*. Suśruta.

111. *Śleṣmātaka*. (*Myxa*, Hindi-*Lasorā*) See fruits.

112. *Sreyasī*. Same as *Gajapippali*. Caraka.

113. *Sṛṅgāṭa*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singhāḍā*) See fruits.

114. *Sudarṣana*. Same as *Vṛṣaparnī*. Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

115. *Suniṣaṇṇaka*. (*Naisilea qudrifolia*, Hindi-a kind of *Metbī*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

116. *Sārṇa*. (Yam. Hindi-*Zamīnkand*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i) p. 363) it is indigenous in India. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

117. *Suṣā*. (Same as *Kāsamarda*, Hindi-*Suṣavī* or *Kasaṇḍī*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

118. *Suvarcalā*. (Sunflower, Hindi-Hulbul) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
119. *Tālapralamba*. Tender leaves of palm tree. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
120. *Taṇḍulīyaka*. (Prickly Amaranth. Hindi-Caulāi *kā bheda*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
121. *Tārūṇī*. a tuber also called *Saba* (Suśruta).
122. *Taruṭa*. (Hindi-Tiratkaṇḍ) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
123. *Tilaparnikā*. Hindi-Hulbul Same as *Suvarcalā*. Caraka.
124. *Tinḍīṭa*. (a kind of Cucumber, Hibiscus ficulneus, Hindi-Tinḍā?) Fruit is cooked, According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is indigenous.
125. *Trapaṣa*. (a kind of cucumber, Hindi-Khīrā) mainly grown in northern India. (Caraka)
126. *Tṛparṇī*. Same as *Hamsapādikā*. Caraka.
127. *Upodaki*. (*Basella cardifolia*, Indian Spinach, Hindi-Poi) a leafy vegetable—Caraka.
128. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus Glemorata*, Hindi-Gulār). Caraka.
129. *Urubuka*. (*Cucumis melo*, Hindi-Lal Araṇḍa) Rv. VII.
- 59.12. Yajurveda, Av. XIV. I. 17. and Suśruta.
130. *Urvāruka*. (*Cucumis sativus*, Hindi-Kacariyā) Rv. VII.
- 59.12. Caraka.
131. *Utpala*. (Blue lotus, Hindi-Nīla Kamal). Caraka.
132. *Vajrakanda*. a tuber mentioned by Kauṭilya.
133. *Vanisaṅkura*. (shoots of a bamboo, Hindi-Bāṇs *ke Anikur*). Caraka.
134. *Vanatiketaka*. (Same as *Kirātatiketa*. Hindi-Kālamegha). Caraka.
135. *Varṣābhū*. (*Boerhavia diffusa*.)
136. *Vārtāka* or *Vṛntāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-Benigan) Fruit is cooked. Probably it was used by Proto-Australoids. A fruit like brinjal can also be seen in Ajanta paintings. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)
137. *Varuṇā*. (*Crataeva nurvalla*, Hindi-Varnā) a leafy vegetable. (Av. VI. 85.1 etc.)
138. *Vāstuka*. (White goose-foot, Hindi-Batbūā) a potherb. Considered good. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)
139. *Vatsādani*. (*Coculus Cordifolius*, Hindi-Giloya) A leafy vegetable Caraka. It is called *Gudūci* by Suśruta.
140. *Vetrāgra*. (Soft sprouts of *Calamus Rotang*, Hindi-Bent *kā Aglā Bbāg*) Caraka, Vagbhaṭa II.

141. *Vidārikand*. (*Canvovulus paniculatus*, Hindi-*Bilaikand*) a root. Caraka.

142. *Vṛkṣādāni*. (a parasite, Hindi-*Bandā*) Suśruta.

143. *Vṛkadbūmaka*. Probably same as *Triurta* Caraka.

144. *Vṛṣapūṣpa*. (Hindi-*Aduse kā phūl*) Caraka.

145. *Yātuka*. (White *Salaparni*) Caraka.

146. *Yavāni*. (The leaf of Bishop's weed) Caraka.

147. *Yavasāka*. (kind of *Vastuka*, Hindi-*khet pāpādā*) Grown in Bengal. Caraka.

148. *Yātbikā*. (*Jaminum aruiculatum*, Hindi-*Jābi*) Suśruta.

F. Spices.

1. *Ajagandbā*. (A variety of *Yavāni*) Caraka. Su. 27.176.

2. *Ajāji*. (Cummin, Hindi-*Zīrā*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21. Caraka and Suśruta call black cummin *Kāravī* and a thick variety is called *Kuncikā*. The Sanskrit word *Jiraka* seems to have been derived from the Persian word *Zīrā* hence it seems that it was introduced into India from Persia (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 643) According to Watt it is indigenous in Egypt.

3. *Ardraka*. See *Sṛṅgavera*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

4. *Ānjaka*. Same as *Kuṭheraka*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

5. *Aśvabalā*. It is a variety of *Methikā*.

6. *Andbbida*. (Kitchen salt, Hindi-*Kac Namak*) Kaut. II. 15.16.

7. *Bbuṣṭṛṇa*. (*Andropogo Martini*, Hindi-*Gandbatṛṇa*) Caraka Su. 27.170. *Vāgbhata* II Su. VII.

8. *Biḍa*. (Black salt, Hindi-*Kālā Namak*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.

9. *Cavya*. (*Piper chaba*, Hindi-*Caba*) *Vāgbhata* II. Su. VI.

10. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Citā*) Kauṭilya.

11. *Coca*. (*Cinnamon Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Dālcini*) Kauṭilya.

According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 317 it is a native of Sumātrā.

12. *Coraka*. Kauṭilya. II. 15.21.

13. *Damanaka*. (*Antemisia vulgaris*) Kauṭilya and Caraka.

14. *Dāruharidrā*. (*Amomum Xanthoririhon*) Kauṭilya.

15. *Dhānyaka*. See *Kustumburu*.

16. *Elā*. (*Cardamaom*, Hindi-*Ialāyaci*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II. p. 227) it is indigenous in mountain tracts of S. India. Kauṭilya uses it in the preparations of

decoctions for causing madness. Pliny mentions four varieties green, reddish and black, short and black and mottled with a faint smell. Amarasimha mentions the two varieties, the large and the small one.

17. *Gandīra*. See vegetables. Caraka Su. 27.169.

18. *Gauvasarsapa*. (White mustard, Hindi-Safed Sarson) Kauṭilya II. 15.21.

19. *Gṛhjana*. A small variety of garlic. Suśruta calls it a vegetable liked by Yavanas and Dhanvantari calls it Mlecchakanda i.e. a tuber liked by non-Aryans.

20. *Haridrā*. (Curcum longa, Turmeric, Hindi-Haldi) The word seems to be of Austric origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 659) it is a native of South Asia.

21. *Haritakī*. (Terminilia Chebula; Hindi-Haṭ) Early Buddhist canon and Kauṭilya II. 12.5.

22. *Hingu*. (Asafoetida, Hindi-Hing) Mahāvagga VI 7. The Kāśyapa Samhitā calls it Bālhika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

23. *Jalapippalī*. A kind of pepper which grows in water Caraka Su. 27.

24. *Jambīra*. See fruits.

25. *Jātiphala*. (Nutmeg, Hindi-Jāyaphal) Suśrutā and Kāśyapa. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 473) it is a native of Maluccas.

26. *Jiraka*. See Ajāji.

27. *Karpūra*. (Camphor, Hindi-Kapūr) Suśruta Su. 46.202.

28. *Kamkola*. (Cubelia officinalis, Hindi-Sitalacini) Suśruta Su. 46.202. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i), p. 257) it is a native of Java and Sumatra.

29. *Kāsamarda*. (Cassia Occidentalis, Hindi-Kasaundi) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

30. *Kastūrikā*. (Musk, Hindi-Kastūri) Suśruta Su. 46.204.

31. *Kesara*. also called *Kumkuma* (Saffron, Hindi-Kesara) Amara II. 6.124. It was brought from Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also exported to Arabia.

32. *Khadira*. (Acacia Catechu, Hindi-Khair) used in preparing betel leaves (Rv. II. 53.19 etc.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas.

33. *Kharāṣṭva*. (Black cummin, See Ajāji) Caraka Su. 27.170.

34. *Kṣavaka*. (Centipeda or bicularis, Hindi-*Nāka Cbikkani*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

35. *Kirātatikta*. (Gentiana chitrayita, Hindi-*Cirāyatā*) Kauṭilya. It was probably grown in the country of the Kiratas.

36. *Kustumburu*. (Corriander, Hindi-*Dhaniā*) Same as *Dhanyaka*. The word Kustumburu seems to be a Dravidian word. (Pāṇini (VI. 1.143) Kauṭilya II 15.21.)

37. *Laṣuna*. (Garlic Hindi-*Labasaṇ*), Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

38. *Lavaṇa*. (Salt. Hindi-*Namak*) Av. VII. 76.1.

39. *Lavaṅga*. (Cloves, Hindi-*Long*) Pliny mentions cloves as an article of trade. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products. (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas. Suśruta 46.202.

40. *Marica*. (Black pepper, Hindi-*Kālī Mīrca*) (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 20.12. Mahāvagga VI. 6 and Kaut. II. 15.21.) Periplus states that it was exported to the Arabian Sea ports in the 1st century A. D. Pliny mentions both the white and black varieties. Probably it grew at Dharmapattana (Calicut?) as Amarasimha (II. 9.367) calls it after the town. But the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 202) regards it as indigenous in the Moluccas.

41. *Maruvaka*. (Vangueria spinosa, Hindi-*Maṅgarālā*) Kauṭilya.

42. *Mālaka*. See vegetables. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

43. *Musta*. (Cyperus rotundus, Hindi-*Moṭhā*) Kauṭilya. Amara calls it *Kuruvinḍa* probably because it was grown in the Kuru country).

44. *Nāgakesara*. (Calophyllum inophyllum) Vagbhata II calls it *Puināga*.

45. *Palāṇḍu*. (Onions, Hindi-*Pyāz*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

46. *Pippalī*. (Piperpe epuloides, Hindi-*Pīpal*) It was probably used by Ancient Dravidians as it was exported to Assyria in the 14th century B. C. It is mentioned in the Av. VI. 107.4. It is called *uṣaṇā* in the Sat. Bra. III 4.3.13. Kauṭilya and the authors of medical works mention it as one of the very important spices. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI (i), p. 258) it is indigenous in India.

47. *Pippalimūla*. (Piper afficinatum, Hindi-*Pīparāmūl*) Vagbhat II, Su. VI.

48. *Pūṅaphala*. (Areca nut, Hindi-*Supārī*) In Kauṭilya's time powdered areca nut was used to flavour certain varieties of liquors. It is a native of Malaya and seems to have been introduced into India by the Austric people. (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. I, p. 291 and Vol. VI (iii), p. 323) It was used in preparing betel leaves (Kaśyapa Saṁ. Bhojana kalpa 39).

49. *Rājikā*. (Brassica, Hindi-*Rāī*) A species of Brassica was grown in the Indus Valley. It is called *Baja* in Av. VII. 6.3. In Caraka it is called *Asurī* probably because it was mainly used by the non-Aryans.

50. *Romaka*. A kind of salt. Suśruta.

51. *Saindhava*. (Rock salt, Hindi-*Sendhā Namak*) Brh. Up. II. 4.12.

52. *Sāleyaṁṣṭaka*. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

53. *Sāmudra*. (Sea Salt, Hindi-*Sāmudra Namak*).

54. *Sanwarcala*. (Hindi-*Senkal Namak*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.

55. *Siddhārtha*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) same as *Gaurasarṣapa*.

56. *Sigrū*. (*Hyperanthera moringa*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

57. *Sṛṅgavera*. (*Lingiber officinale*, Hindi-*Adarak*) The word seems to be of Austric origin in the Av. IV. 35.5 it is called *Adāra*. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

58. *Suṅṭhi*. (Dryginger, Hindi-*Sauṅṭh*) Caraka calls it a panacea. (*Viśvabheṣaja*) See *Sṛṅgavera*.

59. *Suṣavī*. (*Carum Carui* or Caraway, Hindi-*Suṣavī*).

60. *Tejapatra*. (Cassia, Hindi-*Tejapāt*) Vagbhata II, Su. VI.

61. *Tulasī*. (Holy Basil, Hindi-*Tūlsī*) The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. The plant is mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works. Caraka Su. 27.167.

62. *Tumburu*. (*Zanthoxylum Alatum*, Hindi-*Tumbaru*) Caraka Su. 27.169.

63. *Tvak*. (*Cinnomomum Zeylonicum*, Hindi-*Dalcini*) Vagbhata II Su. VI. Kauṭilya calls it *Coca* See *Coca*.

64. *Udbbēda*. (a kind of salt). Caraka Su. I. 88.89. See *Audbbid*.

65. *Uśīra*. (Hindi-*Khas*) Kauṭilya.

66. *Vaca*. (Lerumbet, Hindi-*Baca*). It is also called *Sthūla granthi*.

67. *Vibbitaka*. (*Terminalia blenca*). See fruits.

68. *Viśvabhesaja*. See *Suṇṭhi* Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

69. *Yavakṣāra*. (Nitre, Hindi-*Javākḥār*) *Suśruta*.

70. *Yavānī*. (*Hyoscyamus niger*, Hindi-*Khurāsānī Ajavāyana*)
Caraka Su. 27.168.

APPENDIX VII FOOD PREPARATIONS

A.—Vegetarian

1. *Abhyūṣa*. Green barley in ears when parched and beaten with a pestle and mixed with *guḍa*. (Pāṇini, Apūpādivarga, Amara. Vaiśya. Vag. I. Su. 10. 66).

2. *Ambaṭṭhika*. A sweet prepared with mango. (Angv. p. 182).

3. *Ambila*. (Hindi—*Sirkā*)—Vinegar. It is called *Sukta* or *Cakra* in the medical works. (Jātakas, Caraka Su. 27, 284. Suśruta Su. 45.212).

4. *Amikṣā*. Solid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Yajurveda and Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2.)

5. *Apūpa*. (Hindi—*Puā*)—A cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It is probably the earliest sweet known to us. (Rv. x. 45.9). Cakes prepared with broken pieces of rice are also mentioned (*Kaṇapūvam*, J. 109 and Jain canon). Pāṇini mentions *apūpas* stuffed with fried wheat flour (*cūrṇatāp apūpāḥ*). Caraka (Su. 27.268) mentions *pūpas* prepared with the addition of milk and juice of sugarcane. (*Kṣīreksurasa pūpakāḥ*). Vagbhata I mentions five varieties of cakes:—

(1) Cooked in a pit heated with chaff fire (*Kukūlapakva*).

(2) Cooked in an earthen potsherd (*Kārpara-pakva*).

(3) Cooked in a *Bhrāṣṭra* (*Bhrāṣṭra pakva*).

(4) Cooked in a *kandu* (*Tandūra* in Hindi) (*Kandu pakva*) and

(5) Cooked on live charcoals. (*Angāra pakva*).

6. *Āsuta*. Vegetables preserved in vinegar. Suśruta Su. 45. 211.

7. *Aukula*. Green cereals in ears when parched. Vag. I. Su. X. 66.

8. *Avarāṇna*. Pulses cooked with spices. First mentioned by Baudhayana. (Dh. Su. IV. 7.7. and Gr. Su. II. 8.4.) The Anguttara Nikaya IV. 108.112 calls it *Aparāṇṇa*. (See Dr. Gode's article on *Avarāṇna*).

9. *Bhakeṣya*. (*Mithāi* in Hindi) Sweets in general. Good quality sweets are called *Uccāvata bhakeṣya* (Ram. 61.14). In Suśruta's time sweets were dressed with fruits, meat, preparations of sugarcane juice and *māṣa*. (Suśruta Su. 46).

10. *Bhakta*. Same as *Odana* (Pāṇini IV. 4.10. Early Buddhist canon and later).

11. *Bharīja*. Same as *Dhānāḥ*. (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19).

12. *Bhr̥ṣṭadbānya*. (Fried grains). Caraka (Cikitsā 20.37) shows that parched grains such as *Mudga*, *Masūra* and *Kalāya* were in common use. (See Dr. P. K. Gode's Article on Fried Grains A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXVII pages 56-82).

13. *Bhūtakūraka*. A mixture of curds, groats, parched rice and sesame which was used to drive away evil spirits. (Angv. p. 64).

14. *Caṇakandana*. Rice cooked with gram pulse. (Matsya Pu. 268. 6-30).

15. *Caru*—cooked rice from which water was not strained. The grains became soft but remained distinct (Śabara on Jaim. X. 1.42.).

16. *Citrāṇna*. A cooked preparation of many cereals? (Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Su. p. 206. Yaj. Sm. I. 304).

17. *Dadbanvat*. Probably a kind of cheese with two varieties one with pores and the other without pores. (Rv. VI. 48. 18.)

18. *Dadbisara*. Cream of curds. (Mṛcchakaṭika. Act. I. p. 47 Cal. 1938).

19. *Dadhyodana*. (*Dabī Cāval* in Hindi) Boiled rice mixed with curds. Brhad. Up. VI. 4.15.

20. *Dhānāḥ*. (Hindi—*Baurī*) Parched barley. (Rv. I. 16.2. etc.) Sprouted and parched barley is also mentioned (Caraka Su. 27.265).

21. *Dhosaka*. A saline preparation of pulses mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter (Mānasollāsa III. 1491-1494).

22. *Dīvālikā*. (Hindi—*Matharī* or *Divālī*) Saline small cakes prepared with wheat flour fried in clarified butter. (Angv. p. 182).

23. *Dugdhaudana*. Boiled rice mixed with milk. (Angv. p. 64).

24. *Gauḍika*. Sweets of wheat flour with *gūḍa* stuffed inside. (Suśruta. Su. 46.394).

25. *Gbarīkā*. (*Gbarage* in Marathi) Round cakes of *Māṣa*

flour with five or seven holes fried in oil till their colour became red. (Mānasollāsa III. 1401-1403).

26. *Ghayapūṇṇa*. See *Gbr̥tapūra*. (Uva. I. 34).

27. *Ghola*. (Hindi-*Lassi*) Curds churned with entire butter in it. (Suśruta Su. 45.85).

28. *Gbr̥taudana*. Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter. (Sankh Aran. XII. 8.)

29. *Gbr̥tapūra*. (Hindi-*Ghevara*). A cake prepared with fine wheat flour mixed with milk, and fried in ghee. It is then coated with sugar. Also called *Haviṣpūra*. (Suśruta Su. 46, Uva. I. 34).

30. *Gṇḍaudana*. Rice boiled with treacle. (Baudh. Gr. Seṣa Su., p. 258, Bharata III. 36-39. Augv., p. 64).

31. *Gulalavaṇiṇi Gōl papadi* in Gujarati. Early Jain canon.

32. *Haiyaṁgavina*. Butter churned out of the curds prepared from the previous day's milk. (Suśruta. Su. 45.94).

33. *Haridrodana*. Rice cooked with turmeric. (Baudh. Gr. Seṣa. Su., p. 258).

34. *Holaka*. Same as *Ulumbāḥ*.

35. *Iḍarika*. Circular balls of fermented fine *Māṣa* flour fried in clarified butter. Spices were mixed before eating. (Mānasollāsa XIII. 1400-1401).

36. *Iṣṭaka*. A sweet preparation mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. (80.47).

37. *Kaccara*. The dry pieces of a cucumber fried in ghee or oil. (Bhavisayatta-kahā XII 3. Vilāsavatīkathā).

38. *Kāmbalika*. A soup prepared with whey, some roots, viscous sediment of sesame and vinegar. (Suśruta. Su. 46. 381).

39. *Kāñjika*. According to Dr. Burrow sour rice gruel was used by Dravidians. It was very popular in Kāñci and Avanti. Two varieties are mentioned in the Suśruta (Su. 45. 213-214), one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*) and the other prepared with food grains (*Dhānyāmla*) (Vin. I. 203, Amar. II. 9.39).

40. *Karambha*. (Hindi-*Dabī-Sattu*). A kind of porridge made of parched barley flour mixed with curds, clarified butter or *Soma* juice. (Rv. III. 52.7. etc.)

41. *Kāsāra*. (Hindi-*Kasār*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk, granulated sugar and aromatic spices. (Mānasollāsa III. 1386-87).

42. *Kaṭakārṇa*. (Hindi—*Kalmi Baḍe*) Preparation of pea pulse ground, fumigated, and mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter. (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1394-97.)

43. *Kaṭṭhapijja*. A gruel prepared from rice fried in clarified butter (*Uva*. I. 33.).

44. *Khaḍa*. A soup prepared from fruits. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46 S. 376, *Angv.*, p. 179) or a preparation of sediment of sesame cooked with aromatic spices. (*Nala* on *Suśruta* Su. 46.381.)

45. *Khajjaka*. (Hindi—*Khājā*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee. (*Suśruta* Su. 46. 399) Sweet *Khajjakas* are also mentioned (*Uva*. I. 34).

46. *Khaṇḍapāka* or *Khāṇḍava* (Hindi—*Khāṇḍkī mithāī*) sweets prepared from sugarcandy. (*Ram. Bal* 53.4).

47. *Kilāṭa*. Liquid part of inspissated milk but *Dalhaṇa* uses the word in the sense of solid part. (*Kauṭilya* II. 29.27., *Caraka* Su. V. 9, *Suśruta* Su. 46).

48. *Kṛsara*. A dish prepared with sesamum and rice cooked in milk. In *Dalhaṇa*'s time it was a dish prepared with Sesamum, rice and *Māṣa*. (*Av.* V. 5 *Sad. Bra.* V. 2 and *Gṛhya Sūtras*).

49. *Kṣāralavaṇa*. Saline preparations which were probably highly spiced. (*Gṛhya Sūtras*).

50. *Kṣīraudana*. (Hindi—*khīr*). The *Rv.* (VIII 77.10) has *Kṣīrapākam odanam*. Rice cooked with milk.

51. *Kṣīraprakāra*. A sweet preparation from boiled milk inspissated by the addition of some sour substance. Solid part was mixed with rice flour, formed into various shapes, fried and coated with sugar. (Modern—*Rasgullas*?) (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1408-11.)

52. *Kṣīraṣaṣṭika*. *Ṣaṣṭika* rice cooked with milk. (*Yaj. Sm.* I. 303, *Angv.*, p. 64).

53. *Kṣīravaṣa*. Fried balls of *Māṣa* pulse poured into milk and mixed with sugar. (*Naisadha* XVI. 98, *Manas* III. 1394).

54. *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*. A preparation of milk mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*. (163.10).

55. *Kulatṭhakūra*. Rice cooked with *Kulatṭha* pulse. (*Angv.*, p. 64).

56. *Kulmāṣa*. (*Ghughrī* in Hindi) Probably the early Dravidians used this preparation. It was a coarse gruel prepared by

stewing some inferior food grain and mixing it with treacle and oil. (Chand. Up. I. 10.2).

57. *Kūra*. Same as *Odana*. The Angv. also mentions rice cooked with oil, with mustard and with leaves. (Angv., p. 64).

58. *Kārcikā*. Solid part of inspissated milk. (Kauṭilya II. 29.26, Caraka Su. V. 9).

59. *Kārcikāḥ vikṛtiḥ*. (Hindi—*Phate hne dūdb ke kboe ke Miṭhāi*) Preparations from inspissated milk (Suśruta Su. 46.403).

60. *Ladduka*. Same as *Modaka*. (Naisadha XVI 103, Bhavishyatta XII. 3).

61. *Lājāḥ*. (Hindi—*Dhān-ke khāl*). Parched rice. (Yaj. Sam. XIX. 13 etc. Also see *Madbulājāḥ*).

62. *Lājamaṇḍa*. A beverage prepared with parched rice (Av. V. 5.1).

63. *Locikā*. Delicious cakes prepared with wheat flour. Probably which we call *Lucai* in Hindi (Bharata III. 36-39).

64. *Madbugolaka*. Same as *Modakas*. (Vin. Mv. I. 43. VI. 25.3.)

65. *Madbulājāḥ*. Parched rice grains mixed with honey or *Guḍa*. (J. 476. etc. Kaut. II. 15. Ram. Ay. 91.56.)

66. *Madbumastaka*. (Hindi—*Pūranpoli*) A kind of cake prepared from wheat flour stuffed with honey and aromatic spices and cooked in ghee. Caraka (Su. 27. 265) calls *Madbusīrśaka*.

67. *Madbuparka*. A mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter (Brhad. Up. VI. 4.46).

68. *Majjikā*. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and aromatic spices (Mānasollāsa III. 1573).

69. *Maṇḍa*. A gruel prepared with one part of some cereal or pulse mixed with fourteen parts of water in which salt and spices were used. (Caraka Su. VI. 28).

70. *Maṇḍaka*. (Hindi—*Māṇḍe*) Loaf of bread prepared with powdered wheat or rice flour and mixed with salt, milk and clarified butter. It was baked in a potsherd. (Mānsollāsa III) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Maṇḍallaka* and the Divyāvadāna (p. 258) *Maṇḍalikā*. According to Śrīkaṇṭhadatta same as *Madbumastaka*.

71. *Manīḥa*. A paste prepared with parched barley or rice meal mixed with honey water or curds. (Pāṇini VI. 3.60, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3, Caraka Su. VI. 28, Suśruta Su. 46.385).

72. *Matbīta*. Curds churned without water. (Mānasollāsa III, 1571).

73. *Modaka*. (Hindi—*Laddū*) Sweets balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar. (Mbh. Anu. 53.18 Angv., p. 182., Ram. Ay. 91.93, Suśruta Su. 46.396).

74. *Moreṇḍaka*. (Hindi—*Muraṇḍe*) A sweet prepared with inspissated milk in the shape of the eggs of a peacock. (Angv., p. 182).

75. *Mṛṣṭāṇna*. (Hindi—*Svadiṣṭa bhojana*) Savoury agreeable dishes. (Ram. Bal. 53.3, Bharata III. 36-39).

76. *Mudgaudana*. Rice boiled with *Mudga* pulse. (Sankh. Aran. XII. 8.)

77. *Murmura*. A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *guḍa* and some aromatic spices. (Brahma Purāṇa).

78. *Nāvanīta*. In the time of Suśruta it meant fresh butter churned out of milk (Su. 45.93). Later the word was used in the sense of butter in general.

79. *Odana*. According to Dr. Burrow the Dravidians used boiled rice. In the Rv. (VIII. 69.14) it has the sense of a mess but in the Av. (IV. 14.7) and later boiled rice. It is called *Udan-dana* in the Brhad. Up. (VI. 4.16.) Suśruta (Su. 46) mentions two varieties of *Odana* one in which rice was well washed (*dbanta*) and the other in which rice was not washed before cooking. *Odana* was prepared with clarified butter, meat, fruit, tubers, pulses and milk.

80. *Pālala*. A sweet preparation made of powdered sesamum and *guḍa* (Kāśikā VI. 2.135).

81. *Pābulikā*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil which were not very hard. (Mānasollāsa III, 1385).

82. *Paiṣṭika Bbaksya*. (Hindi—*Cāval ke ate ke Miṭhāi*) confectionary prepared from rice flour. (Suśruta Su. 46.401).

83. *Pakti*. Either same as *Puroḍāsa* or a liquid preparation as suggested by Dr. K.R. Potdar. (Rv. IV. 24.5 etc.).

84. *Palalaudana*. See *Tilaudana*.

85. *Pañcaudana*. Five kinds of pure food grains were mixed in this preparation.

86. *Paramāṇna*. It was prepared by boiling 4 parts of rice (in weight) with 12 parts of milk. Six parts of clarified butter

and 3 parts of *Guda* were added to it. (Angv., p. 220. Bhojana Kulūhala, p. 28).

87. *Parivāpa*. Same as *lājāp* (Yajurveda).

88. *Parpaṣa*. Very thin cakes prepared with the flour of some pulse. (Caraka Su. 27.271, Angv., p. 182).

89. *Patrikā*. Small circular cakes of wheat flour placed one over the other and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III 1385-86).

90. *Pāyasa*. (Hindi—*Khīr*) Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. (Gṛhya Sūtras).

91. *Payasyā*. Same as *Amikṣā*. (Tait. Bra. V. 11).

92. *Phenaka*. (Hindi—*Phenī*) Cakes of fine wheat flour coated with sugar. (Angv., p. 182. Suśruta Su. 46. 399).

93. *Piṇḍaka*. A sweet preparation similar to *Madbumastaka*. (Caraka Su. 27.265).

94. *Pinyāka vikṛti*. A preparation with the viscous sediment of sesamum which was used as a dry vegetable. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

95. *Piṣṭaka*. Probably cakes made of powdered rice. (Pāṇini IV. 3.147).

96. *Polikā*. (a sweet cake, Hindi—*Pauli*) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Povalikā*. The Mānsollāsa mentions saline cakes baked on charcoals (*Angārapolikā*) (III, 1375-83).

97. *Prṣadāṇya*. A mixture of curds and minute globules of butter in the Vedic times, later a mixture of clarified butter and curds. (Rv. X. 29.6, Tait. Sam. III. 2.62, Amara. Vaiśya.)

98. *Prṭhuka*. (Hindi—*Civḍā*) Rice seeds when moist are slightly parched and flattened by the strokes of a pestle. (Tait. Bra. III. 8.14.3, Baudh Gr. Su. I. 16.34). Caraka also mentions *Prṭhukas* prepared with barley. (Su. 27.272).

99. *Pāpa*. Same as *Apāpa*.

100. *Pāpalikā*. (Hindi—*Malpua*) Small cakes of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with ghee filled inside and coated with guda and saffron. (Caraka. Su. 27.266).

101. *Pūrapa*. Cakes stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga* pulse (*mudga vesavāra*) (Vāgbhaṭa I. Su. VII).

102. *Pūrikā*. (Hindi—*Pāpadī*). A cake prepared with gram flour and fried in oil.

103. *Puroḍāśa*. A large rice cake generally dipped in ghee before use (Mait. Sam. III. 10 and Av. IX. 6.12 etc.).

104. *Rāga*. A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *parūṣaka* and citrus medica. (Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 48).

105. *Rāgaśāḍava*. According to some authorities juice of mango fruit cooked with spices and *guḍa* was called *Ragasadava*.

106. *Rājikārāḍḍa*. A preparation of brassica with curds which had a sharp pungent taste (Naiṣadha XVI. 73).

107. *Rasālā*. Same as *Sikbariṇi*. (Ram Ay. 91.73. Mdh. Asv. 89.40 Susruta. Su. 46).

108. *Śāḍava*. A sweet preparation of sour fruits reduced to thick consistency. (Vin. IV. 2.25, Kasyapa Bhojana. 48).

109. *Saktu*. (Hindi-*Sattū*) Flour of parched barley or rice grains. (Rv. X. 71.2. Tait. Bra. III 8.14. etc.). They were eaten both as a solid ball (*Piṇḍi*) and a paste which could be licked (*Avalebika*). In Susruta's time *Saktus* were taken with acidic fruits, ghee, *guḍa*, sugar, juice of sugarcane, grapes and honey mixed with water. (Susruta Su. 46.412).

110. *Sāmitā*. A preparation of powdered wheat flour stuffed with boiled and ground *Mudga* pulse. (Susruta Su. 46. 398).

111. *Samitānikā*. (Hindi-*Malāi*) cream of milk.

112. *Saṁyāva*. (*Cūrmā* in Hindi) Sweet preparation made of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk and *guḍa* (Pāṇini III. 3.23). Sometimes aromatic spices were added to it.

113. *Sara*. Originally cream in general, later the sense is restricted to cream of curds. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

114. *Sarkarīputrikā*. (*Khand ke khilone* in Hindi) A doll of sugar. (Naiṣadha XVI 104).

115. *Śaṣkulī*. (Hindi-*Kbastā Pūrī*) A cake prepared with rice flour mixed with sesamum fried in ghee or oil. (Early Jain canon and Susruta Su. 46). The Bṛhat. Saṁ. (76.9) mentions a variety of *Śaṣkulikā* which excited amorous desires. The Angv. (p. 182) calls a variety *Dirghaśaṣkulikā*.

116. *Śaṭṭaka*. There were many varieties. One variety was prepared by mixing curds with sugar and aromatic spices. Seeds of pomegranate were added to make it more delicious. Susruta Su. 46.397.

117. *Sauviraka*. Probably in the sense of sour gruel in the Vin. (I.210) and later.

118. *Sevikā*. Thread like preparation from refined wheat flour. (Vilāsavatīkathā).

119. *Sīhakesara*. A sweet preparation mentioned in Antagaḍadasāo, p. 10.

120. *Sikharīṇī*. A very popular preparation of curds mixed with aromatic spices and sugar. Also see *Rasālā*. (Caraka Su. 27.276).

121. *Siṇḍākī vāṭaka*. Balls prepared by boiling some vegetables such as radish, pressing them to squeeze water and mixing them with aromatic spices. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

122. *Soblā* or *Subālī*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil on a very hot fire and coated with sugar. They were quite hard. (Bhavisayatta. XII. 3. Mānasollāsa III. 1384).

123. *Srikhaṇḍa*. Same a *Sikharīṇī*.

124. *Srikukkuṭa*. A preparation from oil cake which was acidic in taste. (Vag. II Cikitsā 12).

125. *Sṛtam*. Boiled milk as distinguished from fresh milk which is called *Pratībhuk*. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

126. *Sthālīpāka*. Rice cooked with milk specially for sacrificial purposes. (Bṛh. Up. VI. 4.18, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5, 3.19).

127. *Sāpa*. Soups with pulses are mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works. Suśruta (Su. 46.310) mentions that some times pulses were slightly parched before cooking.

128. *Suṣka Sāka*. Suśruta mentions preparations of sesamum, oil cake, sprouted pulses and *Siṇḍākī* under this category.

129. *Svastika*. A kind of cake prepared with barley flour. In shape it has a wider bottom and a pointed top. The sides are marked by signs. (Suśruta Uttaratantra 60.33).

130. *Takra*. (Hindi—*Matthā*, Buttermilk) It contained three parts of curds with one part of water (Mānasollāsa. III 1572).

131. *Takraudana*. Boiled rice mixed with butter milk. (Angv., p. 220).

132. *Temana*. A soup prepared with curds. (Bhavi. XII. 3 Amara II. 9.44).

133. *Tilaudana*. Rice and sesamum boiled in water. (Bṛh. Up. VI. 4.17). Yaj. Sm. XI 287 calls it *Palalaudana*.

134. *Tilavikṛti*. A preparation from sesamum was used as a dry vegetable. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

135. *Tilaparpaṭa*. *Parpaṭas* prepared with sesamum are mentioned in the Āca. Su. II. 1.271.

136. *Udatvita*. A solution of curds with equal quantity of water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

137. *Udumbara*. Balls of wheat flour stuffed with *Kāsāra* and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III. 1388.)

138. *Ulumbāḥ*. (Hindi-*Holā*) Beans of pulses such as *Mudga* and pea roasted on live charcoals. (Suśruta Su. 46.410).

139. *Uṣṇikā*. *Peyā* variety of *Yavāgū* (Pāṇini V. 27. Angv., p. 180).

140. *Utkārikā*. A sweet dish prepared with rice flour, milk, treacle and ghee. Aruṇadatta equates it with *Lapsikā*. (Caraka. Cikitsa 2. Bharata III. 36-39. Div. 500.23).

141. *Uttaribhaṅga*. Delicacies of food taken after the meals (Vin. II. 214. etc.). It is called *Pachiyauri* in the Padmāvata, pp. 284-285. It was a sweet dish which was served in the last.

142. *Vaidalāḥ*. Confectionary made of pulses such as *Mudga*. (Suśruta Su. 46.402) Bower MSS I. 24 uses the word in the sense of cooked pulses.

143. *Vājina*. Liquid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

144. *Varṣopalagolaka*. Sweet balls of rice flour prepared by mixing sugar and the powder of cardamom and camphor. (Naiṣadha XVI. 100, Mānasollāsa III. 1415-1417).

145. *Vartikāḥ*. Sweets in the form of a roll. (Suśruta Su. 46).

146. *Vaṭaka*. (Hindi-*Baḍe*) Probably the early Dravidians used *Vaṭakas*. Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water and ground on a piece of stone and then fried in oil or ghee (Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37). The Mānasollāsa mentions *vaṭakas* dropped in sour gruel (*kāñjika vaṭaka* III. 1404) and another variety called *Manahvaṭaka* (III. 1405-1409).

147. *Vaṭikā*. (Hindi-*Baḍiān*) Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water after removing the outer covering and grinding it on a piece of stone. Before the balls were prepared the ground paste was allowed to ferment for a few days (Mānasollāsa III. 1397-99).

148. *Vātya*. (Hindi-*Daliyā*) Caraka (Su. 27.263.) mentions porridge prepared with parched barley (*Yāvakāḥ vātyaḥ*).

149. *Veṣṭikā*. (Hindi—*Beḍavi*) A cake of wheat flour in which gram pulse mixed with aromatic spices is used as stuffing. (Mānsollāsa III. 1391-92).

150. *Vidalapāka*. A soup prepared with pulses of gram, *rājamaṣa*, *masūra*, *rājamudga* and slightly parched *āḍhaki*. The waters of asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt were added to it before use. (Mānsollāsa III 1359-69).

151. *Vimardaka*. A preparation of groats and clarified butter. (Vāgbhaṭa II, Uttara 39).

152. *Virūḍhaka*. Sprouted cereals which were used as dry vegetables and some sweets were also prepared from them. (Suśruta. Su. 46).

153. *Viṣṭārin*. Warm fresh milk with curds. (Av. IV. 34.1).

154. *Viśyanda*. A preparation of rice fried in ghee and mixed with treacle which was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency (Suśruta. Su. 46.398).

155. *Vitānaka*. A sweet mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa 268.6.30.

156. *Vyañjana*. A condiment in the early Buddhist canon. But in the Jain canon it is used in the sense of seasoned food.

157. *Yāvaka*. A porridge prepared by pounding barley with a pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk with sugar added to it. (Pāṇini V. 4.29).

158. *Yavāgū*. In the Yajurveda it seems to be a barley gruel. Rice gruel is mentioned as a wholesome and health giving article of food in the Mahāvagga VI. 24.5. A spiced variety (*Trikaṭuka*) was used in cases of illness (Vin. VI. 17.1). Pāṇini mentions two varieties of *yavāgu* one which was taken in liquid form (*peyā*) and the other which was licked as a paste (*vilepi*). The latter is called *Nakhamṭasa* by Pāṇini because it scorched the ends of fingers. Caraka mentions a *peyā* prepared with parched rice (*lājapeya*). The *Āṅgavijjā* (p. 179) mentions *yavāgu* prepared with milk, clarified butter and oil. Suśruta (Su.46.376) means a gruel prepared with fruit juices which he calls *Khaḍa yavāgu*.

159. *Yūṣa*. A soup generally prepared by cooking cereals and pulses with buttermilk, but the Kāśyapa. Saṁ. (p. 250. 19.24)

also mentions *Yūṣas* prepared with fruits, vegetables and spices. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46.376).

B.—Non-vegetarian Preparations.

1. *Angārāpakvam māṁsam*. Meat roasted on live charcoals. It is also called *Pratapta*. (Early Jain canon, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, p. 98).
2. *Antraśuṇṭhaka*. *Suṇṭhakas* prepared with entrails, well washed and roasted on spikes, mixed with salt. (*Manas* III. 1492-93).
3. *Bhāḍitraka*. Pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes which were filled with some spices, these pieces were roasted on spits and some spices were added. (*Manas* III. 1462-68).
4. *Bhāṇṇitamāṁsa*. Meat fried in ghee or oil. (*Suśruta* Su. 46.357-58, Early Jain canon).
5. *Bhṛṣṭa māṁsa*. Meat fried in ample quantity of clarified butter. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46.353).
6. *Bhṛṣṭikā*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with some roasted and spiced meat inside. (*Manas* III. 1476-81).
7. *Cakṣkalikās*. Were *Suṇṭhakas* cut in the form of palm leaves which were dropped in curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices. (*Manas*. III 1436-37).
8. *Dakalāvaṇika*. Meat soup prepared with salt, dryginger etc. (*Vagbhata* II. *Cikitsa*).
9. *Kandupācita Māṁsa*. Meat prepared with aromatic spices and covered with brassica powder which was roasted in a *kandu* (oven) till it was deep red in colour. (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.356).
10. *Kavacandī*. Flesh of a sheep carved into the form of plums was mixed with some powdered spices, and grams and fried in oil with pieces of some vegetables. (*Manas* III 1453-56).
11. *Khaniṣka*. *Dalhaṇa* mentions it as a kind of *Vesavāra*.
12. *Kosalī*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat covered with grains of rice and roasted on fire. (*Manas*. III. 1476-82).
13. *Kṛṣṇapāka*. Flesh of sheep dressed in the shape of betelnuts and cooked with some blood, sour fruits and spices. (*Manas*. III. 1473-75).
14. *Māṁsaudana*. Meat cooked with rice (*Bṛhad*. Up. VI. 4.18). The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā* 49.9.) calls it *Piṣṭaudana*. (*Pat-añjali* II.3.1, p. 459 1.1.)

15. *Māmsabbūtaudana*. A tasty preparation of meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together. (Ram. Ay. 52.89).
16. *Māmsasiddha amla yavāgñi*. A sour gruel prepared with meat. (Kāmasūtra, Suśruta. Su. 46.351).
17. *Maṇḍaliya*. Entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal. (Manas III. 1494-1498).
18. *Niṣṭhāna*. Tasty preparations with the flesh of goats and boars. (Rāmāyaṇa. Ay. 91.67 etc., Amara. Vaiśya 44).
19. *Pañcavarṇi*. Pieces of entrail and liver cooked with spices. (Manas III. 1488-91).
20. *Parīṣuṣkamāṃsa*. (Seasoned meat) Kauṭilya puts seasoned meat in the category of vegetables. Raw meat was first fried in ghee then it was soaked in warm water and preserved in spices such as cummin. Its daily use is not recommended in the medical works. (Kauṭilya II. 15.22, Caraka. Su. V.10.)
21. *Piṣṭa*. Meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic spices. (Suśruta Su. 46.)
22. *Pradigdhāmāṃsa*. Meat cooked with milk and ghee. Sugar was added to make it more delicious. (Kāśyapa Saṁh., p. 359, Suśruta. Su. 46.353.)
23. *Pūrabhaṭṭāka*. Fruit of brinjal filled with pasted meat and fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1483-85).
24. *Puryalā*. Pieces of clean meat chopped in the form of *Āmalaka* fruit cooked with spices, acid fruits, and *Suṣṭhāka*s and fumigated with garlic and asafoetida. (Manas III. 1457-61).
25. *Rasa*. Meat soup. Sometimes the expression *Māṃsa rasa* is used. (Suśruta Su. 46. 376., Bower Mss. II. 14).
26. *Saurāva*. The upper part of meat soup. (Suśruta Su. 46.362).
27. *Siddhamāṃsa*. Meat seasoned by frying in ghee with cummin, salt and pepper. (Early Jain canon. and Suśruta. Su. 46).
28. *Sūlya Māṃsa*. Meat roasted on spikes. (Rv. I.162.11, Pāṇini IV.2.17, Uttara XIX. 70, Śakuntalā II).
29. *Suṣṭhāka*. Pieces were cut from the roasted body of a pig and again roasted on fire. The pieces were then mixed with the powder of salt and black pepper. (Manas. III. 1430-35).
30. *Ullūpta Māṃsa*. Minced meat. (Suśruta. Su. 46.354).

31. *Vatṭimaka*. Pasted meat formed into the shape of ball and roasted on fire or fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1486-87).

32. *Vesavāra*. Boneless flesh boiled and pasted on a piece of stone with some aromatic spices. It was cooked in ghce with *guḍa*. (Mbh. Anu. 53. 17, Susruta Su. 46.364-65).

33. *Vimardaka*. A meat preparation made by dressing meat in various ways. (Caraka. Su. 27.276).

34. *Vṛṣya Pūpalikā*. An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile. (Caraka. Cikitsā II. 28-29).

35. *Yūṣan*. Meat boiled in pots. (Rv. I. 162.13). A thin decoction of meat soup is called *accharasaka yūṣa* in the Kāma-sūtra (II. 10.15).

APPENDIX VIII BEVERAGES

A. Intoxicating Drinks

1. *Ākṣikī Sīdhu*. Prepared from *Ākṣa* fruit. (Caraka Su. 27.184).
2. *Ariṣṭa*. A tincture of medicines in which solid ingredients predominate. (Kaut. II. 25.21, Caraka Su. 2. 180 Suśruta Su. 45.194).
3. *Āsava*. An extract of *Kapitttha*, (*Ferronia elephantidin*) inspissated juice of sugarcane and honey with some spices. In this drink the liquid part predominates. (Kauṭilya II. 25.19 and 29, Suśruta Su. 45.194).
4. *Avadātikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini V.4.3.
5. *Bakkaśa*. Solid ingredients of liquor devoid of liquid part. (Suśruta. Su. 45.181).
6. *Bijottarā*. A variety of liquor mentioned by Kaut. II. 25.
7. *Dhātakyābbhiṣuta*. Prepared from the flowers of *Dhātaki* (Caraka Su. 27.186).
8. *Divyā*. An intoxicating drink prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* tree.
9. *Gauḍī*. Intoxicating drinks prepared from *Gūḍa* (Manu XI.95). *Gauḍyāśava* was an *āsava* from *gūḍa*.
10. *Hārābhūra*. A wine imported from Afghanistan. (Kaut. II. 25.25).
11. *Jagala*. Residue of *Surā*. (Caraka Su. 27.179. Suśruta Su. 45.180).
12. *Jāti*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Jāti* flowers. (Vipaka II. 19).
13. *Kādambarī*. Distilled from ripe *Kadamba* fruit. (Amara. II. 10. 40).
14. *Kālikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini (V.4.3).
15. *Kāpiśāyanī*. A variety of wine imported from Afghanistan. (Pāṇini IV. 2.29, Kauṭilya II. 25.25).

16. *Kaṣāya*. Decoctions of rice meal and flowers. (Pāṇini VI.2.10).
17. *Kaula*. Prepared from jujube fruit. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
18. *Kbarjūra*. Prepared from dates. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Suśruta Su. 45.174).
19. *Kilāla*. A sweet drink prepared from cereals. (Av. IV.11.10 etc.).
20. *Kobala*. It was prepared from parched barley flour.
21. *Kṛta Surā*. Fermented *sura*. (Ram. Sundara 11. 22-3).
22. *Mādhvī*. A liquor prepared from honey. (Manu XI. 95).
23. *Mādhavī*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Mbh. Virat. 16.3).
24. *Madhvāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23, Caraka Su. 27.185).
25. *Madirā*. Cream of *Surā*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.20. Caraka. Su. 27.178).
26. *Madya*. All kinds of strong liquors. (Caraka. Su. 27.191).
27. *Maireya*. Spiced liquor with *gūḍa* or sugar prepared from the bark of *meṣaiṣṇṅī*. (*gynema sylvestre*). It was a favourite drink of the aristocratic circles. (Pāṇini VI. 2.70, Kaut. II. 25.22, Caraka Su. 27. 185.)
28. *Mārdvika*. Wine from grapes. It is called *Madbu* by Kauṭilya. (Kauṭilya II. 25.24, Suśruta Su. 45.172, Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
29. *Māsara*. A fermented liquor prepared with a mixture of mess of rice (*Syāmāka*) and some spices. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that this variety was used by the ancient Dravidians. (Yajurveda, Katya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1.20.22).
30. *Medaka*. A variety of *surā* prepared from rice, yeast cake, honey and some spices. (Kauṭilya II. 25.7).
31. *Nārikelāsava*. Prepared from the juice of cocoanut. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Raghu. IV. 65).
32. *Paiṣṭī*. *Surā* prepared from rice or barley meal. (Manu XI. 94-95).
33. *Parisruta*. An intoxicating drink prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses (Av. XX. 127.7-8).

34. *Phalāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from fruits such as date fruit. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

35. *Prasannā*. A variety of *surā* prepared with rice meal and some spices which had often an oily substance. It is called cream of *surā*. (Kauṭilya. II. 25.18 Suśruta Su. 45.178).

36. *Puṣpāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from flowers such as those of *Madhūka*. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

37. *Rasottarā*. Prepared from the juice of sugarcane. (Kaut. II. 25).

38. *Sabakārasurā*. Prepared from the juice of mango fruit. (Kaut. II. 25).

39. *Sāmbhārikī*. A liquor in which the spices predominate e.g. *Maireya*. (Kaut. II.25).

40. *Sarkarāsava* or *Sarkarāsīdhu*. An *āsava* prepared from red sugar. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23. Caraka. Su. 27.181).

41. *Satau*. A strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times. (Jambu. 20. p. 99 f.).

42. *Sīdhu*. Prepared with the juice of sugarcane and *dhātakī* flowers. It seems to have been a favourite drink of non Aryans. (Rama. Sundara. 11.26 and 32). Two kinds of *Sīdhus* are mentioned one prepared from boiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.182) and the other from unboiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.183).

43. *Surā*. Generally prepared with barley or rice flour, but sometimes *Madhūlikā* variety of wheat was also used. (Caraka Su. 27.188). It was an intoxicating drink of the common people in the Vedic period. (Rv. VIII. 2.12. etc.).

44. *Surāsava*. An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water. (Caraka. Su. 27.185).

45. *Svetasurā*. Same spices were used in it as in preparing the *Prasannā* variety.

46. *Tālakka*. An intoxicating drink prepared from palm fruit. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that the ancient Dravidians knew the art of toddy tapping. From the account of Pliny it is clear that palm liquor was used by Indians before the 1st century A.D. (Jiva III. 264).

47. *Tanka*. Prepared from the fruit of *Kapittha*. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).

48. *Vārūṇī*. A strong liquor prepared by fermenting the juices of palm fruit and dates. It brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk. (Ram Ay. 114.20).

B. Other Beverages

1. *Āsāma*. Scum of boiled rice. (Aca. I. 642).
2. *Āmalaka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Āmalaka*. (Aca. I. 599).
3. *Amlikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of tamarind. (Aca. II. 1.264).
4. *Āmra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of mango fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. I. 599).
5. *Āmrātaka pāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of hog plum. (Aca. I. 599).
6. *Anna rasa*. Drinks prepared from cereals or pulses. (Rama Ay. 54.18).
7. *Citā pānaka*. A drink prepared by mixing milk with the juice of tamarind and straining the mixture in a clean piece of cloth. It was mixed with crystal sugar and powder of cardamom (Manas. III. 1581-84).
8. *Cocapāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of plantain. (Vin. I. 246).
9. *Cūrṇādbhivāsin*. Water boiled with the powder of cloves, camphor, saffron, sandal wood, *uśīra*, *citraka*, *kanikola*, *haritaki* and *karcūra*, all taken in equal quantities. (Manas. III 1622-23).
10. *Dādima pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of pomegranate. (Aca. I. 599).
11. *Dhānyāmla*. See vegetarian preparation.
12. *Drākṣāpānaka*. Syrup prepared with grape juice. (Caraka Su. 27).
13. *Gudodaka*. Water mixed with *guda*. (Mahāvagga VI. 27)
14. *Hamśodaka*. Water boiled by the rays of the Sun during the day and cooled by the rays of the Moon at night. (Manas III. 1616).
15. *Himāpānaka*. A syrup prepared with snow is mentioned by Dalhana.
16. *Ikṣurasa*. The juice of sugarcane. (Caraka Su. 27).

17. *Jambū pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of rose apple. (Vin. I. 246).

18. *Kāñjika*. Sour gruel was prepared from cereals. (Caraka Su. 27).

19. *Kapittha pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Kapittha* fruit. (Aca. I. 599).

20. *Karīra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the fruit of *Karīra*. (Aca. I. 599).

21. *Karkandhu pānaka*. It was prepared by pounding berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and mixing it with the juice of *Jāti* flowers. (Bhela. Sam. p. 218).

22. *Kāśmārya pānaka*. To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāśmārya*, *madhūkā*, *parūṣaka*, grapes and pomegranate were mixed with the powder of *kuṭaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjiṣṭha*, cardamom and long pepper. Water was added to the mixture. (Bhela. Sam. p. 219).

23. *Khaṇḍapānaka*. Syrup made from raw sugar. (Suśruta Su. 46.389).

24. *Kharjūra pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of dates. (Caraka Su. 27.277, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Vag. II. 3.32).

25. *Kola pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of jujube. (Aca. Su. II. 1.264. Caraka. 27.277).

26. *Lakuca pānaka*. Juice of *Lakuca* fruit. (Vayu. 46.9).

27. *Madhu pānaka*. Syrup prepared by mixing water with honey. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278, Vag. II. Su. III. 32).

28. *Mātuliṅga pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Citrus medica*. (Aca. II. 1.266).

29. *Moca pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of coconut fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. II. 1.264).

30. *Mṛdvikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of grapes. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Suśruta. Su. 46.388) Caraka calls it *Drākṣā pānaka*.

31. *Nārikela pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of Coconut fruit. Aca. I. 599.

32. *Nimbuka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of lemon. (Caraka. Su. 27).

33. *Pañcāmṛta*. The juices of any three of coconut, mango, jack and banana fruits mixed with honey and sugar. (Baudh. Gr. Ses. Su., p. 277).

34. *Pañcadaśa*. A strong mixture of *Soma* juice. Rv. X. 27.2.

35. *Pañca sāra pānaka*. A drink prepared by boiling water with five spices such as ginger, *Asana* and *Nāgaramothā*. (Vag. II. III. 31.) Someśvara (Manas III. 1622-23) calls a similar drink *Cārṇādhivāsin*.

36. *Parūṣaka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of *Parūṣaka* fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278).

37. *Piṇḍavāsa*. Water prepared by pouring into it a clay ball stuffed with some spices after roasting it in the live charcoals of *khadira* wood. (Manas III. 1619-20).

38. *Pratipāna*. A drink which helps the digestion of food. (Ram. Ay. 91.78).

39. *Puṣpavāsa*. Water fumigated with the juice of mango fruit, and flowers of *Pāṭala*, *utpala* and *camapaka*. (Manas III. 1621).

40. *Rāga*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

41. *Rasālā*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

42. *Ṣaḍava*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

43. *Sarkarāpānaka*. Water mixed with sugar. (J. I. 339, Suśruta Su. 46. 388-89).

44. *Sāluka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice extracted from the roots of waterlily. (Vin. I. 246).

45. *Sauvira*. Same as *Dhānyāmla*. (Aca. I. 642).

46. *Soma juice*. The *Soma* plant grew on the mountains especially on the mountain *Maujavanta* which is a part of the Himalayas. It was obtained with difficulty in the later Vedic period hence many substitutes were suggested. Some scholars have explained *Soma* juice as an intoxicating drink like liquor but the evidence before us does not justify the conclusion. *Soma* juice was mixed with milk, with curds and parched barley flour but liquor is never mixed with these things. Prof. J. C. Ray was of opinion that *Soma* plant was nothing but *Bhang* because both are annuals coming up at the beginning of the rainy season, both have shining leaves and the method of preparation of both is the same and effects of the drink on the consumer remarkably agree. In spite of so many similarities pointed by Prof. Ray, the identification seems hardly convincing in view of the fact that the plant had become almost extinct even in the later

Vedic period and the intoxicating effect which *Bhang* has on the consumer is no where described in the Vedic literature. Watt in the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India Vol. II., p. 246-47 in 1889 had identified the plant with *Ephedra* and Dr. J.M. Unwala has, on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references, come to the same conclusion. Soma juice was a favourite drink of the Vedic Indians (Rv. IX etc.) and occupied an important place in the Vedic ritual even in the Dharmasūtras.

47. *Tilodaka*. Water mixed with sesamum (Patañjali on VI. 2.96).

48. *Tuṣodaka*. Water mixed with chaff (Aca. I. 642).

49. *Vārkeṣa*. The juice of the fruit of cocoanut. (Mānāsollāsa III. 1615).

50. *Yavodaka*. Water mixed with barley grains. (Aca. I. 642).

51. *Yūṣa*. Juices of *Kapitttha*, *bilva*, jujube, grapes, pomegranate and mango were cooked to prepare soups (Kas. Sam. p. 250.46).

APPENDIX IX

BOOKS ON FOOD AND DRINKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

1. Ancient Indian life by J. C. Ray, Chapter II Calcutta, 1948.
 2. Annapāna Vidhi ascribed to Suśena. Tanjore, 1950.
 3. Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya by Vāgbhaṭa II Sūtra, Chapter V, VI and VIII.
 4. Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha by Vāgbhaṭa I Sūtra Ch. VI and VII.
 5. Bhojana Kutūhala—by Raghunātha.
 6. Caraka Saṁhitā with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, Sūtra Ch. 27.
 7. History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II Part II. Ch. XXII by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1941.
 8. India as described in Jain Canon by J. C. Jain, Chapter IV.
 9. India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawal, Ch. III Sec. 6, Lucknow, 1953.
 10. India in the Time of Patañjali by B. N. Puri (Bombay, 1957) Chapter, IV.
 11. Kāśyapa Saṁhitā—*Bhojana Kalpādhyāya, Khila Sthāna-Yūṣa, Pāṇīya, Māṁsa, Deśasātmya*.
 12. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall Vol. I. Chapter 4.
 13. Pākadarpaṇa ascribed to Nala.
 14. Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras by V. M. Apte, Chapter IX.
 15. Some Aspects of Indian Civilization, Ch. II, by G. P. Majumdar.
 16. Suśruta Saṁhitā with the commentary of Ḍalhaṇa. Sūtra. Chs. 45-46.
 17. Tāmbūla Mañjari—by J. S. Pade M. S. University Baroda Oriental Series, 1957.
- Other books mentioned by Dr. P. K. Gode, in his article on the History of *Jalebi* (New Indian Antiquary Vol. 6 1943-44).
1. Bhāvaprakāśa of Bhāvarnīśa.
 2. Vanaṣadhi Guṇādarśa by Pade Sastri.

3. Pākāśāstra by Yaśodā Devi.
4. Rikamapanacī—Kāmagiri.
5. Gṛhiṇīmitra—Lakṣmībāi Dhurandhar.
6. Caryā Padmākara—Satyaśodhaka Press.
7. Pāka Darpaṇa—Ahmedabad Press.
8. Caryā Candrodāya—Datta Rama Pathaka.
9. Rasa Vyañjana Prakāśa—Gaṅgā Viṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇa Dās.
10. Vyañjana Pāka Pradīpa—Siddhakavi.
11. Bhojana Darpaṇa Mālā—N. R. Kadam.
12. Mahārāṣṭriya Svayam Pāka—Baroda State Series.
13. Pāka Śāstra—Satya Sōdhaka Press.
14. Caryā Darpaṇa—Pt. Raghunatha Prasad, Aufre Ch. 7, C.C.I. 332.
15. Pākādi Samgraha—Med. B. 4228.
16. Pākādhyāya—Med. Oxf. 3196 B.

4228 dated Samvat 1823=1767—A.D.

17. Pākāvalī—Med. 1042 Pheh 2
Radh 32
Brhati and Laghvi
Burnell 699
Oppert 4007 Peters 3339.

C. C. 1174

18. Pākamārtanḍa or Pākāvalī—Med. B. L. 232.
19. Pākāśāstra—Cookery by Bhīmasena, Govt. Oriental Library Madras, 49.
20. Pākārṇava—Peters 4.40.
21. Pākāvalī—Med. 10.42, 2098 different Peters 4.40.

C. C. 11171.

22. Pākamārtanḍa on various medicament and their preparation A.K. 932.
23. Pākāśāstra—Cookery—Bd. 983.
24. Pāka Sudhākara—Med. Quoted by the author of Pāka Mārtanḍa A.K. Pref. p. 17.
25. Pākāvalī—Med. by Upādhyāya Sarasvata Kulodbhava. Madras Des Cata. XXIII. Medicine 1918.
26. Madras MSS No. 13381 of Sūpaśāstra is described as a treatise bearing on cookery (108 pp). The work is attributed to Bhīmasena (pp. 9009-10 of Madras Cat. XXIII-1818).
27. Gṛhiṇī Śikṣaka Part I.

APPENDIX X

LIST OF ARTICLES ON 'FOOD AND DRINKS'

1. Aiyar, A.K.Y.N.—The Antiquity of some Field and Forest Flora of India Q.J.M.S. (New Series) Vol. XLII 1951-52. ✓
2. Aiyar, L.V.R.—Dravidian Eating and Drinking I.H.Q. 36.
3. Burrow, T.—Dravidian Studies VII Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1947-48 pp. 365-396.
4. Chakravarti, T.N.—Some Flora mentioned in early medical literature of Bengal and some popular taboos about the use of certain fruits and vegetables P.O. Vol. XV 1950.
5. Dharma, P.C.—Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa P.O. Vol. II. No. 2 and 3.
6. Dharma, P.C.—Social Life in the Rāmāyaṇa Q.J.M.S. Bengal Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-19 (1937-38).
7. Diksitar, V.R.R.—South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis. Indian Culture, Calcutta Vol V. 1938-39.
8. Diksitar, V.R.R.—A Note on Cow Veneration in Ancient India. F.W. Thomas Commemoration Volume. Bombay 1939.
9. Divanji, P.C.—Laṅkāvatārasūtra on Non-vegetarian Diet. A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XX, p. 317-332. (1938-39).
10. Ganguli, R.—Cultivation in Ancient India. I.H.Q., 1930-31.
11. Gode, P.K.—History of Alfalfa or *Metbikā* between A.D. 700—and A.D. 1800 A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXIII, 1953, pp. 171-81.
12. Gode, P.K.—History of *Jondbala*, B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I, pp. 142-158, Calcutta, 1945.
13. Gode, P.K.—Some Notes on the History of Indian Dietetics with special reference to *Jalebī*. New Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, 1943, pp. 169-181.
14. Gode, P.K.—History of *Avarāṇṇa* Jain Antiquary Vol. II. Jan. 1947, pp. 1-8.
15. Gode, P.K.—Use of Fried Grains in Indian Diet A.B.O.R.I. XXIX. 1948.

16. Gode, P.K.—History of Almond in India A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXIX, 1948.
17. Gode, P.K.—History of Spittoon in India A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXVI Parts III & IV.
18. Gode, P.K.—History of Dishes *Idli* and *Dose*. S.K. Chatterji Volume, 1955.
19. Gode, P.K.—History of the Fig (*Ficus Carica*) New Indian Antiquary Vol. 4 Bombay, 1941-42.
20. Gode, P.K.—Some Notes on the history of *Canaka* 500 B.C. to 1820 A.D. A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXVII Parts 1-2, 1946.
21. Gode, P.K.—Notes on the History of Fig. I.H.Q. 1943.
22. Gode, P.K.—History of *Canaka* (gram) as food for horses between A.D. 800-1870. A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXVI (1945).
23. Gode, P.K.—Reference to *Tāmbūla* in Indian Inscriptions between A.D. 473 and 1800, 'Sarupa Bharati' Hoshiarpur 1954.
24. Gode, P.K.—The Attitude of Hindu Dharmaśāstras towards *Tāmbūla Bboga*, Journal of Oriental Institute Baroda, March, 1932.
25. Gode, P.K.—History of the verse about the Thirteen Qualities of *Tāmbūla* Between A.D. 1200-1900, A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXI (1951).
26. Gode, P.K.—The use of Lime (*Cārṇa*) and Catechu (*Khadira*) in *Tāmbūla* and its Antiquity. 150th Anniversary Volume of the Asiatic Society Bombay, 1957.
27. Gode, P.K.—Reference to Tobacco in Marāṭhi Literature between 1600-1900 P. O. Vol. XX No. 1-4.
28. Iyengar, P.T.S.—The Trade of India I.H.Q., 1926.
29. Krishna Deva and Mc Cown, D.E.—Further Explorations in Sind Ancient India No. 5., pp. 12-30, 1949.
30. Lal, B.B.—Excavations at Hastinapur Ancient India Nos. 10 & 11 (1954-1955).
31. Law, N.N.—Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization I.H.Q. Vol. VII 1938.
32. Levi, S.—Alexander and Alexandria in India, I.H.Q., 1936.
33. Majumdar, G.P.—Vedic Plants, B.C. Law Commemoration Vol. I Calcutta, 1945, pp. 645-668.
34. Majumdar, N.G.—Explorations in Sind Archaeological Survey of India Memoir No. 48, Delhi, 1934.

35. Przyluski Jean—Pre-Dravidian and Proto-Dravidian I.H.Q., 1930.
36. Przyluski Jean—Origin of the Aryan word *Iṣṭaka* I.H.Q. 1931.
37. Rajwade, V.K.—Reflections on Amarakośa A.B.O.R.I. Vol. VI Part II, p. 76-82 (1924-25).
38. Ray, J.C.—Hindu Method of Manufacturing Spirit from Rice. Journal Asiatic Society Bengal (New Series) Vol. II. No. 4, 1906.
39. Ray, J.C.—*Soma* Plant. I.H.Q. Vol. XV No. 2, 1939.
40. Ray, J.C.—Food and Drink in Ancient India. 'Man in India', Ranchi Vols. XIII and XIV 1933-34.
41. Ray, J.C.—Sugar Industry in Ancient India—Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. IV Pt. 4, 1918, pp. 435-450.
42. Regmi Delhi Raman—The Control of Liquor in Ancient India. New Review (Calcutta) No. 5, 1940.
43. Sankalia H.S.—Civilization of Maheshwar and Nevada Toli, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. XVI No. 4/84 Oct. 1959, pp. 323-336.
44. Sengupta, S.—Food Prohibitions in the Smṛti Texts Journal of Asiatic Society (Letters) Calcutta Vol. XII No. 2.
45. Shah, U.P.—Introduction to Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī, and Gīrvāṇa Mañjarī, Journal of Oriental Institute M.S. University, Baroda, Vol. IX No. 1, 1959.
46. Shah, U.P.—Geographical & Ethnic Data from the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda Vol. VII, 1958.
47. Unvala, J.M.—The Hoam of Ancient Iran and the Vedic *Soma*, Vallabhavidyānagar Research Bulletin Vol. I No. 2, 1957-58.
48. Viswas Ashutosh—Society and Culture in the Brāhmaṇa Period A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XIII p. II.
49. Vyasa, S.N.—Agriculture in the Rāmāyaṇa Age. Poona Orientalist Vol. XI. 1946.
50. Wheeler, R.E.M.—Harappa, Ancient India No. 3 1947, pp. 58-130.

APPENDIX XI

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aiyangar, Rangaswami K.V.—Ancient Economic Thought, Banarès, 1934.
- Altekar, A.S.—Education in Ancient India, Benares, 1934.
- Basham, A.L.—Wonder that was India, London, 1954.
- Basham, A.L.—History and Doctrines of Ājivikas, Luzac, 1952.
- Beni Prasad—Hindustan Ki Purāni Sabhyatā (H); Allahabad, 1931.
- Bhandārkar, D.R.—Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, Madras, 1940.
- Chakravarty, Chandra—Cultural History of the Hindus, Calcutta.
- Chakravarty, K.C.—Ancient Indian Civilization and Culture, London, 1952.
- Das, S.K.—Economic History of India, Calcutta, 1944.
- Dey, N.L.—The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, Luzac, 1927.
- Dutt, R.C.—Hindu Civilization 2 Vols. Calcutta, 1927, 1929.
- Jāyasi—Padmāvata edited by V.S. Agrawal Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1955.
- Jolly, J.—Hindu Law and Custom Tr. B. Ghosh, Calcutta, 1928.
- Kane, P.V.—History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. II, Part II, Poona 1941.
- Law B.C.—Historical Geography of Ancient India.
- Majumdar, G.P.—Some Aspects of Indian Civilization, Calcutta, 1938.
- Majumdar, R.C. and Pusālkar—The Vedic Age, London, 1951-52.
- Majumdar, R.C. and Pusālkar—The Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1951.
- Majumdar, R.C. and Pusālkar—The Classical Age, Bombay, 1954.
- Majumdar, R.C. and Pusālkar—The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1955.
- Majumdar, R.C. and Pusālkar—The Struggle for Empire, Bombay, 1957.
- Moti Chandra—Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata Upāyanaparva, Lucknow, 1945.
- Mukerji, R.K.—Ancient Indian Education, London, 1947.

- Mukerji, R.K.—Hindu Civilization, London, 1950.
 Nala—Pāka Darpaṇa, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.
 Raghunātha—Bhojana Kutūhala, Trivendrum, 1956.
 Rapson, E.J.—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Delhi, 1955.
 Ray, J.C. Achārya—Ancient Indian Life, Calcutta, 1948.
 Samaddar, J.N.—Economic Condition of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1922.
 Suśeṇa—Anna Pāna Vidhi, Tanjore, 1950.
 Watt George—Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, 6 Vols. Calcutta, 1889.
 Winternitz, M.—History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, Vol. 2, Calcutta, 1932.

CHAPTER I

- Bagchi, P.C.—Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian India, Calcutta, 1929.
 Banerji, Sastri A.—Asura India, Patna, 1926.
 Chatterji, S.K.—Kirāta Janakīrti, Calcutta, 1951.
 Chatterji, S.K.—Indo-Aryan and Hindi, Ahmedabad, 1942.
 Childe, V. Gordon—New Light on the Most Ancient East, London, 1934.
 Dexit, K.N.—Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley, Madras, 1939.
 Dikshitar, V.R.R.—Origin and Spread of the Tamils, The Adyar Library, 1947.
 Dikshitar, V.R.R.—Pre-Historic South India, Madras, 1951.
 Guha, B.S.—Racial Elements in Population, Oxford, 1945.
 Heras, H.—Proto Indo-Mediterranean Culture Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1953.
 Iyengar, P.T.S.—Advanced History of India, Madras, 1942.
 Iyengar, T.R. Shesha—Dravidian India, Madras, 1925.
 Kala, S.C.—Sindhu Sabhyatā(H) Allahabad, 1955.
 Mackay, E.J.H.—Chanhudaro Excavations, 1935-36. New Haven, 1943.
 Mackay, E.J.H.—Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Delhi, 1938.
 Majumdar, N.G.—Explorations in Sind, Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 48, Delhi, 1934.
 Marshall, Sir John—Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, London, 1931.

- Mitra, Pañcānan—Prehistoric India, Calcutta, 1927.
 Nilkanta Sastri, K.A.—A History of South India, London, 1958.
 Piggot, S.—Pre-Historic India, Penguin Books, 1950.
 Raghava Rangeya—Prācīna Bhāratiya Paramparā Aur Itihāsa (H) Delhi, 1953.
 Vats, M.S.—Excavations at Harappa, 2 Vols. Calcutta, 1940.
 Wheeler, R.E.M.—The Cambridge History of India Supplement, The Indus Civilization, Cambridge, 1953.

CHAPTER II

- Aitareya Āraṇyaka—Anandāśrama with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, Poona, 1898.
 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—With the commentary of Sāyaṇa Anandāśrama, Poona, 1931.
 Atharvaveda—S.B.E. 42, Oxford, 1897, with the commentary of Sāyaṇa.
 Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad—Gīta Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2012, with the commentary of Sāyaṇa.
 Bhargava, P.L.—India in the Vedic Age, Lucknow, 1956.
 Chāndogyaopaniṣad—Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2011.
 Das, A.C.—R̥gvedic India, Calcutta, 1927.
 Das, A.C.—R̥gvedic Culture, Calcutta, 1925.
 Deshmukh, P.S.—Religion in Vedic Literature, Oxford, 1933.
 Gopatha Brāhmaṇa—By Dr. Dieuke Gaastra, Leiden, 1919.
 Griffith, R.T.H.—Tr. R̥gveda, Benares, 1920.
 Griswold, H.D.—The Religion in the R̥gveda, London, 1923.
 Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa—H. Oertel. Lahore, 1921.
 Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa—Ed. Lokeśa Candra, Nagpur, 1950.
 Kāthaka Saṁhitā—Śrīpāda Sātavalekar Aundh, 1943.
 Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa—
 Macdonell, A.A.—Vedic Religion in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 612.
 Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, 2 Vols. London, 1912.
 Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā—Śrīpāda Śarmā Sātavalekar, Aundh. 1998, V.S.
 Max Muller, F.—R̥gveda Saṁhitā, with Sayana's commentary, London, 1890-92.
 Nirukta—Ed. V.K. Rajvade, Poona, 1940.
 Nirukta of Yāska—with Durgās commentary Ed. R.G. Bhanlalkar, Bombay, 1942.

Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa—

Potdar, K.R.—Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda, Bombay, 1953.

Renu Louis—Vedic India, Calcutta, 1957.

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā—Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1946.

Rogozin—Vedic India.

Roth and Whitney—Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, Berlin, 1856.

Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa—Tr. W.B. Bollee, 1956.

Saṁkhāyana Āraṇyaka—

Sarup, L.—Ṛgveda with the commentary of Madhava I-III, Lahore, 1939, 40, 43, IV Benares, 1955.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa—With the commentary of Sāyaṇa and Hari-svāmī, Bombay, 1940.

Sātavalekara Śrīpād Dāmodara—Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, Aundha, 1940.

Sātavalekara Śrīpād Dāmodara—Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, Aundha, V.S. 1995.

Sukthankar, V.S.—Ghate's Lectures on the Ṛgveda, Poona, 1926.

Tāittariya Āraṇyaka—Anandāśrama Poona, 1926 and 1927.

Tāittariya Brāhmaṇa—Anandāśrama with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, Poona, 1938.

Tāittariya Saṁhitā—Anandāśrama with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, Poona, 1940.

Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa—With the commentary of Sāyaṇa, Benares, 1935-36.

Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā—With the commentary of Mohīdhara, Bombay, 1929.

Wilson, H.H.—Trans. Ṛgveda, Poona, 1926-28.

CHAPTER III

(Section 1)

Agrawal, V.S.—Pāṇini Kāliṇa Bharatavarṣa (H) Benares, 1955.

Agrawal, V.S.—India as known to Pāṇini, Lucknow, 1953.

Āpastamba—Dharma Sūtra with the commentary of Haradatta, Benares, 1932.

Āpastamba—Dharma Sūtra, Parts I & II, Ed. Buhler, Bombay, 1892-94.

Āpastamba—Dharma Sūtra, Ed. Buhler, S.B.E. 2, 1897.

Āpastamba—Gṛhya Sūtra Tr. Max Muller, S.B.E. Vol. 30, 1892.

- Āpastamba—Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Dhūrtasvāmī Mysore, 1944.
- Apte, V.M.—Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras, Ahmedabad, 1939.
- Āśvalāyana—Gṛhya Sūtra Ed. Ravi Tirtha Adyar, 1944.
- Āśvalāyana—Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1917.
- Baudhāyana—Dharma Sūtra S.B.E. 14 Ed. Buhler, 1879.
- Baudhāyana—Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra.
- Baudhāyana—Gṛhya Sūtra, R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1920.
- Buhler—Vasiṣṭha Gṛhya Sūtra.
- Maxmuller, F.—Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, S.B.E. 30, 1892.
- Gautama Dharma Sūtra—With the commentary of Maskari, Mysore, 1917.
- Gautama Dharma Sūtra—S.B.E. 2 Ed. Bhuler, 1879.
- Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra—With the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Calcutta, 1936.
- Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra—Tr. Oldenberg S.B.E. 29, 1886.
- Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra—With the commentary of Karka, Parts I & II, Benares, 1928, 39.
- Kātyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra—
- Khadira Gṛhya Sūtra—Commentary of Rudraskanda, M.S.S. Mysore, 1913.
- Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra—Ed. Mukund Jha, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Haridas Granthmala, 97.
- Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra—G.O.S. No. 35, Baroda, 1926.
- Oldenberg, H.—Gṛhya Sūtras of Sāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Pāras-kara and Khadira, S. B. E. 29, 1886.
- Pandeya, H.S.—Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇa, Patna, 1995 V.S.
- Pāṇini—Aṣṭādhyāyī Ed. Devendra Kumar Vidyaratna, Calcutta, 1912.
- Pāraskara—Gṛhya Sūtra Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1986 V.S.
- Saṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra—Junagadh, 1942.
- Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra—W. Caland, Nagpur, 1953.
- Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra—Tr. by Oldenberg, S.B.E. Vol. 29, 1886.
- Vaikhānasa Gṛhya Sūtra—
- Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra—S.B.E. 14 Ed. Buhler S.B.E. Vol. 2, 1879.
- Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra—Ed. Pt. Raja Ram, Lahore, 1905.

CHAPTER III

(Section 2)

- Ācāraṅga Sūtra—S.B.E. 22 Tr. H. Jacobi Oxford, 1884.
 Ācāraṅga Sūtra—Amolaka Ṛṣi Hyderabad, 1920.
 Āṅguttara Nikāya—Ed. by E. Morris and E. Hardy, Parts I-V, London, 1885-1900.
 Antakṛta Daśaṅga—Ed. P.L. Vaidya Poona, 1932.
 Āvaśyaka Sūtra—Āgamodaya Samiti N.S. Press Bombay, Parts I, II & III 1928, 1932, 1936.
 Bhagavati Sūtra—Niraṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1918-1919
 Āgamodaya Samiti Bombay, 1918-1919.
 Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya—Ed. Bhadrabāhu Svāmī, Atmānand Jain Granthmālā, Bhavnagar, 1933-36.
 Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra—Ed. Hastimalla Ajmer Amolaka Ṛṣi—Hyderabad, 1920.
 Chalmer's—Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I & II.
 Cullavagga—S.B.E. 20.
 Daśavaikālika Sūtra—N.S. Press Bombay, 1918.
 Dhammapada—P.L. Vaidya, Poona, 1934.
 Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā—5 Vols. P.T.S. 1906-1915.
 Dighnikāya—P.T.S. Ed. Carpenter J.E., 1947.
 Dighanikāya—N.K. Bhagwat, Bombay, 1942.
 Fausboll, V.—Jātakas Vol. I-VII, London, 1877.
 Fick—Social Organization in North East India, Tr. S.K. Mitra, Calcutta, 1920.
 Horner, I.B.—The Book of Discipline, Vol. I-V London, 1942-52.
 Jacobi, H.—Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu, Leipzig, 1879, Tr. 1884.
 Jacobi, H.—Kṛtāṅga Sūtra S.B.E. 45, 1895.
 Jacobi, H.—Uttarādhyayana Sūtra S.B.E. 45.
 Jain, J.C.—India as depicted in Jain Canon, Bombay, 1947.
 Jñātā Dharma Kathā—N.S. Press Bombay Āgamodaya Samiti, 1919.
 Kalpa Sūtra—Jainānand Press Surat, 1936.
 Kalpa Sūtra—S.B.E. 22, 1884, Tr. H. Jacobi.
 Law, B.C.—India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, London, 1941.
 Law, B.C.—Mahāvīra, London, 1937.

- Law, B.C.—Some Jain Canonical Sūtras, Bombay, 1949.
- Mahāvagga—S.B.E. 17, Oxford 1885.
- Mahāvagga—Jagadisakassapa, Pāli Publication Board, Bihar Govt. 1956.
- Majjhima Nikaya—Vol. I&II, I.B. Horner P.T.S. London, 1954, 57.
- Majjhima Nikāya—N.K. Bhagwat, Bombay, 1936, 1938.
- Majjhima Nikāya (H)—Rāhul Sāmkṛtyāyana, Mahābodhi Society Sarnath (Benares) 1933.
- Mehta, R.N.—Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay, 1939.
- Milindapanha—Translated by T.W. Rhys Davids Vol. 35-36. & Parts I & II 1890, 1894.
- Nisītha Sūtra—Ed. Amolaka Ṛṣi, Hyderabad, 1920.
- Pātimokkha—S.B.E. 13, Oxford, 1881.
- Prajñāpanā Sūtra—Tr. Bhagvandas, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1991.
- Piṇḍa Nirukti—Bhadraḥ, Bombay, 1918.
- Pupphabhikhu—Suttāgama, 2 Vols. (Comprising all the earlier Jaina texts) Gurgaon, 1953-54.
- Rāyapaseṇaiya Sutta—Ahmedabad, 1937.
- Rhys Davids, T.W.—Buddhist India, London, 1903.
- Rhys Davids, T.W.—Dialogues of the Buddha Vols. II-IV.S.B.B. London, 1899.
- Rhys Davids, T.W.—Psalms of Early Buddhists P.T.S. London, 1951.
- Sacred Books of the Buddhists—Vinaya Piṭaka I.B. Horner, Vols. X and XI Vols. I. II London, 1940, 1949.
- Sthāṇāṅga Sūtra—Ed. Amolaka Ṛṣi, Hyderabad, 1920.
- Saṃyutta Nikāya—Ed. Leon Feer Parts I-VI London 1884-1904.
- Sūtra Kṛtāṅga—Ed. Amolaka Ṛṣi, Hyderabad. 1920.
- Sutta Nipāta—S.B.E. Vol. 10 Tr. Fansboll Oxford, 1881.
- Taṇḍula Vaikālika Sūtra—Commentary by Devacandra Lalbhai.
- Theragathā—N.K. Bhagwat, Bombay, 1939.
- Therīgathā—N.K. Bhagwat, Bombay, 1937.
- Theragāthā & Therīgāthā—Ed. Oldenberg London, 1883, P.T.S. 1909.
- Upāsakadaśāṅga—Ed. N.A. Gore, Poona, 1953.
- Uttarādhyayana Sūtra—Ātmā Rāma Lahore, 1941, 1942.
- Uttarādhyayana Sūtra—N.S. Press, 1937.
- Vinayapiṭaka—Ed. Oldenberg Vol. I-V London, 1879-1883.

Vimānavatthu—P. L. Vaidya Poona, 1930, Ed. by Edmund Rawland and Gooneratna London.

Vinayapiṭaka (H)—Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Mahābodhi Sabhā Benares, 1935.

Vipāka Sūtra—P. L. Vaidya Poona, 1933.

CHAPTER IV

(Section 1)

Barua, B.M.—Aśoka and his Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1955.

Bhandarkar, D.R.—Aśoka, Calcutta, 1955.

Gokhale, B.G.—Buddhism and Aśoka, Baroda, 1948.

Kielhorn, F.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali Vols. I & III Bombay, 1892-1906.

Mc Crindle, J.W.—Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, Westminster, 1901.

Mc Crindle, J.W.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian, London, 1877.

Mukerji, R.K.—Aśoka, Delhi, 1955.

Ojha, G.H.—Aśoka Ki Dharma Lipiyān, Benares, 1923.

Patañjali—Mahābhāṣya, Mirzapur, 1855.

Puri, B.N.—India in the Time of Patañjali, Bombay, 1957.

Sastri, Udaivir—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Lahore, 1925.

Shamasastri R.—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mysore, 1919.

CHAPTER IV

(Section 2)

Buhler, G.—Manusmṛti S.B.E. 25, Oxford, 1886.

Griffith, R.T.H.—Translation of the Rāmāyaṇa Vols I-V London, 1870-74.

Hopkins—The Great Epic of India, New York, 1901.

Jha, G.N.—Manusmṛti, Calcutta, 1924-26.

Mahābhārata—Poona Edition, 1929-1936.

Sarma, D.P.—The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, Allahabad, 1950.

Sukthankar V.S.—Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, Sukthankar Memorial Edition. Vol. I, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, 1944.

Vaidya, C.V.—Epic India, Bombay, 1907.

CHAPTER V

- Bhela Saṁhitā—Calcutta University, 1921.
 Caraka Saṁhitā with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, Bombay, 1941.
 Cunningham—The Stūpa of Bhārhut, London, 1879.
 Kaśyapa Saṁhitā—Ed. Hemaraja Śarma, Banaras, 1953.
 Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra of Samanta Bhadra—Ed. C.R. Jain, Arrah, 1917.
 Suśruta Saṁhitā—With the commentary of Dalhaṇa, Bombay, 1938.
 Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra—Tr. J. Jolly, S.B.E. Vol. 7, 1880.
 Yājñavalkya Smṛti—With the commentary of Aparāka (1125 A.D.) Ed. H.N. Apte Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series No. 46, Poona, 1904.

CHAPTER VI

- Agrawal, V.S.—Kādambārī Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana (H), Benares, (1958).
 Agrawal, V.S.—Harṣacarita Kā Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana, (H) Bihar Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā Paṇḍit, Patna.
 Altekar, A.S. and Majumdar, R.C.—Vākāṭaka Gupta Age, Lahore, 1946.
 Aṅgavijjā—Ed. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, Prakrit Text Society Vārāṇasi-5, 1957.
 Bāṇa—Harṣa Carita, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1937.
 Bāṇa—Kādambārī, Ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1928.
 Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, London, 1914.
 Beal—Siyuki, London, 1916.
 Bharata—Nāṭya Sāstra, Ed. Manmohan Ghosh, Calcutta.
 Bhāravi—Kirātārjunīyam, Allahabad, 1958.
 Bhavabhūti—Uttara Rāma Carita, Ed. by P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1929.
 Bower Mss.—Ed. by A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, Calcutta, 1893.
 Brhaspati Smṛti—K.V. Rangasvami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1941.
 Brhaspati Smṛti—Trans. by J. Jolly, S.B.E. Vol. 33, 1889.
 Buddhaghōṣa—Commentary on Saṁyukta Nikāya.
 Chakladar, H.G.—Social Life in Ancient India, Studies in Kamasutra, Calcutta, 1954.

- Dandin—Daśakumāra Carita, Chawkhamba, Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1948.
- Diksitar, V.R.R.—A Study of Matsya Purāṇa, Madras, 1935.
- Diksitar, V.R.R.—Purāṇa Index, 3 Vols. Madras, 1951-55.
- Cowell, E.B. and Neill, R.A.—Divyāvadāna, Cambridge, 1886.
- Griffith—Ajanta Paintings, London, 1896-97.
- Harṣadeva—Ratnāvalī, Ed. by M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1925.
- Hazara, R.C.—The Purāṇic Records of Hindu Rites and Customs, Dacca, 1940.
- Jha, G.N.—Śabara's Commentary on Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, Baroda, 1934.
- Kālidāsa—Abhijñāna Śākuntalam, Ed. M.R. Kale Bombay, 1957.
- Kālidāsa—Malavikāgnimitra, Ed. R.D. Karmarkar, Poona, 1950.
- Kālidāsa—Kumāra Sambhava, Nimaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1955.
- Kālidāsa—Raghuvamśa, Ed. Shankar P. Pandit, Pts. I-III Bombay, 1872, 1874, 1897.
- Kāmandaka—Nītisāra, Bombay, 1961 V.S.
- Kāśikāvṛtti on Aṣṭādhyāyī—Ed. A.S. Phadke, Kashi Sans. Series, Benares, 1987, V.S.
- Kātyayana Smṛti—Smṛti Saṁuccaya, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Poona.
- Khārāṇada—A writer on medicine referred by P.K. Gode, Poona Orientalist Vol. IV, pp. 49-62. A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX, pp. 97-102.
- Kūrma Purāṇa—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1950.
- Legge—Fahien's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886.
- Maity, S.K.—Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta period, Calcutta, 1957.
- Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—Khemraj Śrīkṣṇadas, Bombay, 1967 V.S.
- Matsya Purāṇa—Khemraj Śrīkṣṇadas, Bombay, 1980, V.S.
- Pandit, R.S.—Rājatarangiṇī, Allahabad, 1935.
- Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London, 1922.
- Patil, D.R.—Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, Poona, 1946.
- Saletore, R.N.—Life in the Gupta Age, Bombay, 1943.
- Sharma, H.D. and Sardesai, N.G.—Amarakośa with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmī, Poona, 1941.
- Sūdraka—Mṛcchakaṭika, Haridas Sanskrit Granthmāla, Benares, 1954.

- Svayambhū—Pauma Cariya, Singhi Jain Granthamāla No. 34, Bombay, V.S. 2009.
- Tantravārtika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa—Kāśī Sanskrit Series, Benares.
- Takakusu—A Record of the Buddhist Religion by Itsing, Oxford, 1896.
- Tiloyapaṇṇati—Jivaraj Jain Granthamāla, Sholapur Part I, 1956, Part II, 1951.
- Upādhyāya, B.S.—India in Kālidāsa, Allahabad, 1947.
- Vāgbhaṭa II—Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya Tr. by Atrideva Gupta, Benares, 1950.
- Vāgbhaṭa I—Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha Tr. by Atrideva Gupta, Bombay, 1951.
- Vākpati—Gauḍavaho, Ed. N.B. Utgikar, Poona, 1927.
- Varāhamihira—Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Ed. V.S. Sastri Bangalore, 1947.
- Vātsyāyana—Kāma Sūtra, Ed. by Goswami Damodar Shastri (Benares) 1929.
- Vāyu Purāṇa—Ānandāśrama, Poona, Saka 1827.
- Watters—On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vols. I & II London, 1904-1905.
- Wood and Subramanyam—Abbreviated Garuḍa Purāṇa Vol. IX, Sacred Books of the Hindus (1911-1919).

CHAPTER VII

- Apabhraṁśa Trayī—Of Jinadatta Sūri, G.O. S. 37, Baroda, 1927.
- Āditya Purāṇa—Ed. H.N. Apte.
- Āgni Purāṇa—Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1900.
- Al Masudi—History of India as told by its own Historians by Elliot and Dowson.
- Amba Samudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX.
- Amitagati—Subhāṣita Sandoha, Bombay, 1932.
- Apte, V.G.—Smṛti Samuccaya, Poona, 1929.
- Bagchi, P.C.—Kaula Jñāna Nirṇaya, Calcutta, 1934.
- Baudhāyana Smṛti—Smṛti Samuccaya, A.S.S. No. 48, Poona.
- Bhāgavata Purāṇa—Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.
- Bhaviṣya Purāṇa—Khemraj Srikrishnadas, Bombay.
- Brahma Purāṇa—Ed. H.N. Apte, Ānandāśrama No. 28, Poona, 1895.

- Chakrapāṇi Datta—*Dravyaguṇa Saṁgraha*.
 Dāmodara Gupta—*Uktivyakti Prakaraṇa*, Singhi Jain Granth-
 māla, No. 39 Bombay, 1953.
 Dhanapāla—*Bhavisayatta Kaha* Ed. C.D. Dalal and P.D. Gune,
 Baroda, 1923.
 Dhanvantari—*Nighaṇṭu* with *Rājanighaṇṭu* Ed. V.G. Apte,
 Poona, 1925.
 Eusibius Renaudot—*Ancient Account of India and China* by
 two Mohammadan Travellers, London, 1733.
 Garuḍa Purāṇa—Jīvānand Vidyāsāgara Bhattacharya, Calcutta,
 1890.
 Handiqui, K.K.—*Yāsaṣṭilaka and Indian Culture*, 1949.
 Hariṣeṇa—*Bṛhatkathā Kośa*, Bombay, 1943.
 Hemacandra—*Kumārapāla Carita*, Ed. P.L. Vaidya, Poona, 1936.
 Haribhadra Sūri—*Samaraicca Kahā* Ed. H. Jacobi S.B.E. 119,
 1926.
 Jinendra Sūri—*Kathākośa prakāraṇa*, Bombay, 1949.
 Kalhaṇa—*Rāja Taraṅgiṇi* Ed. by D. Prasad and P. Peterson Vol.
 I & III Bombay, 1892-1896.
 Kṣīrasvāmī—*Commentary on the Amarakośa*, Ed. H. D. Sharma
 & N.G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941.
 Kuttanīmatam of Damodaragupta—Ed. by T.M. Tripathi Bombay
 1924.
 Majumdar, Aśoka—*Chālukyas*, *Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan*, Bombay,
 1956.
 Medhātithi—*On Manusmṛti*, *Bibliothica Indica*, No. 256, Calcutta,
 1939.
 Nalacampū—*Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa*, *Ānandāśrama*, Poona.
 Padma Purāṇa—*Kaśi Sanskrit Series* No. 98, Benares, 1932.
 Prajāpati Smṛti—*Smṛti Samuccaya*, Ed. V.G. Apte *Ānandāśrama*
Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1929.
 Rājaśekhara—*Karpūra Mañjarī*, Benares, 1955.
 Rājaśekhara—*Kāvya Mīmāṃsā*, Ed. Kedarānath Sharma, (Patna)
 1954.
 Raviṣeṇa—*Padma Purāṇa of the Jains*.
 Sachau, E.—*Alberuni's India*, London, 1887.
 Saṁdesa Rāsaka by Abdul Rehman—Singhi Jain Granthmāla
 No. 22, Bombay, 1945.

- Sarkar, B.K.—Sukra Nītisāra, Sacred Books of the Hindus Vol. XIII, (1911-1919).
- Siddharṣi—Upamiti Bhava Prapañca Kathā, Calcutta, 1909.
- Skanda Purāṇa—Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1909.
- Somadeva Sūri—Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Ed. D. Prasad & K.P. Parab, Bombay, 1903. Yaśastilaka, Ed. Sivadatta, Bombay, 1916.
- Someśvara—Mānasollāsa, Ed. by G.K. Shrigondekar, G.O.S. Vol. 84, Baroda, 1939.
- Srīharṣa—Naiṣadha Carita, Ed. Sivadatta, Bombay, 1912.
- Vaijayantī—A Sanskrit Lexicon by Yādavaprakāśa.
- Vijñāneśvara—Mitākṣara Commentary on Yājñavalkya, Ed. by W.L.S. Paṇsīkar, Bombay, 1926.
- Vākpatirāja—Gauḍavaho Ed. S.P. Pandit, Poona, 1927.
- Vāmana Purāṇa—Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1929.
- Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa—Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.
- Vṛnda—Siddhayoga with the commentary of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta. Anandaśrama S.S. Poona, 1894.
- Yaśapāla—Moharāja Parājaya.

APPENDIX XII

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT SOURCES

1.	Indus Valley Civilization	C. 3000 B.C.
2.	Maheshwar Nevda Toli Culture ..	C. 1200 B.C.
3.	Hastinapur Culture	C. 800 B.C.
4.	The Rgveda	C. 2000 B.C.
5.	The Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads	Before 800 B.C.
6.	Sūtras and Pāṇini	800 B.C.—300 B.C.
7.	Early Buddhist Canon	C. 500 B.C.
8.	Kauṭilya	C. 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.
9.	Patañjali	C. 150 B.C.
10.	The Rāmāyaṇa, The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti	4th Cent. B.C. to 4th Cent. A.D.
11.	Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Sūtra and Saṁhitā of Caraka.	After the Christian Era 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D.
12.	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā Bhojanakalpa	2nd Cent. B.C.—C.400 A.D.
	Khila Sthāna	300-400 A.D.
13.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti and Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra	100 A.D.—300 A.D.
14.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti	100—400 A.D.
15.	Suśruta Saṁhitā	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
16.	Aṅgavijjā	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
17.	Bower. Mss... ..	C. 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
18.	Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇa	3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
19.	Kāmasūtra	C. 450 A.D.
20.	Early Jain Canon	Before 5th Cent. A.D.
21.	Śābara	200—500 A.D.
22.	Laṅkāvatārasūtra	Prior to 443 A.D.
23.	Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā ..	505—587 A.D.
24.	Kātyāyana Smṛti	400—600 A.D.
25.	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha	C. 625 A.D.

26.	Yuan Chwang and Bāna's Harṣa-carita and Kādambarī	606—648 A.D.
27.	Kāśikā	662 A.D.
28.	Raviṣeṇa-Padmā Purāṇa	678 A.D.
29.	Itsing	671—695 A.D.
30.	Vakpati-Gauḍavaho	725 A.D.
31.	Kumārila-Tantravārtika	650—750 A.D.
32.	Kāmandaka Nīṭisāra	700—750 A.D.
33.	Pauma Caria	677—760 A.D.
34.	Kuṭṭanimatam	755—786 A.D.
35.	Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu	Before 800 A.D.
36.	Varāha Purāṇa	C. 800 A.D.
37.	Aṣṭaṅga Hṛdaya	C. 850 A.D.
38.	Skanda Purāṇa	600—900 A.D.
39.	Later Smṛtis	600—900 A.D.
40.	Agni Purāṇa	800—900 A.D.
41.	Rājaśekhara	C. 900 A.D.
42.	Medhātithi on Manu	C. 900 A.D.
43.	Nala Campu	915 A.D.
44.	Yasastilaka-Campu	959 A.D.
45.	Vāmana Purāṇa	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
46.	Vṛnda	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
47.	Nala—a writer on cookery	Before 1000 A.D.
48.	Dhanapāla-Bhavisayattakahā	10th Cent. A.D.
49.	Garuḍa Purāṇa	10th Cent. A.D.
50.	Alberuni	973—1048 A.D.
51.	Kṣīrasvāmī on the Amarakośa	1050 A.D.
52.	Mitākṣarā on the Yājñavalkya Sm.	1070—1100 A.D.
53.	Dalhaṇa on Suśruta	C. 1100 A.D.
54.	Kumārapāla carita	C. 1100 A.D.
55.	Aparārka on Yāj. Smṛti	1125 A.D.
56.	Someśvara-Mānasollāsa	1127 A.D.
57.	Padma Purāṇa and Brahma Purāṇa	900—1200 A.D.
58.	Naisadha carita	1150—1200
59.	Sandesa Rāsaka	12th Cent.

INDEX

A

- Abhitri*, 13 f.n. 3.
Abhiṣeka, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Abhyūsa, 41, 179, 284.
Abrahmaṇa, 100.
Acāma, 85, 301.
Accharasakayūṣam, 177 f.n. 4.
Adāra, 22 f.n. 5, 44.
Ādbakī, 37 f.n. 2, 61, 135, 166, 171 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1, 263.
Adri, 32.
Aegle marmelos, 21, also see *Bilva*.
Agastya, 272.
Aghnyā, 17.
Agnimanṭbaka, 272.
Aguru, 113 f.n. 4.
Ābava, 32.
Abicchatra; food of the people of; 201.
Ainduka, 150 f.n. 1.
Aiṅguda, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Airāvata, 266.
Ajagandbā, 279.
Ajāṣṭi, 92 f.n. 5, 113 f.n. 4, 279, also see *Cumin*.
Ājivikas, 86.
Ājya, 15 f.n. 5, 105 f.n. 4.
Ākṣikī pāla, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Ākṣikīrīḍhu, 298.
Ākṣoṣa, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Akṣuṣṭbaka, 61 f.n. 3, 260.
Alābū, 2, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 272, see *Bottle gourd*.
Aluka, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 272.
Alindā, 79.
Ālīṅjara, 190, f.n. 2.
Ālisandaga, 62 f.n. 3, 263.
Almonds, 149.
Aloes, 113.
Āmalaka, 21, 71, 72 f.n. 92, 115 f.n. 1, 149, 266.
Āmalakapānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
Āmanṭraya, 101.
Āmatra, 32.
Āmba, 11 f.n. 5.
Āmbādagapānaga, 77 f.n. 3.
Āmbapāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Āmbaṭṭbika, 284.
Ambila, 70 f.n. 4, 284.
Āmikṣā, 14, 174 f.n. 6, 284.
Āmlavetasa, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Āmloyavāgū, 177 f.n. 4.
Āmlīkā, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Āmlīkākhanda, 150 f.n. 1, 272.
Āmlīkāpānaka, 301.
Āmra, 92 f.n. 9, 149 f.n. 1, 266, also see *Mango*.
Āmrāpānaka, 301.
Āmrātaka, 73 f.n., 115 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1, 184, 267, also see *Hogplum*.
Āmrātakapānaka, 301.
Āṇḍalanbīṭya, 170 f.n. 4.
Āṇḍīkā, 22 f.n. 5, 273.
Āṅgārapakṣam mūṁṣam, 295.
Āṅgāranakṣayaṇa, 33.
Ānḍilwārā, food of; 216.
Animal fats, 71, 182.
Aniravasita sūdra, 99 f.n. 3.
Āṭkalodya, 150 f.n. 1.
Āṅkoṣa, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Anna, 136 f.n. 1.
Ānnarasa, 301.
Anṭratuṅṭbaka, 295.
Ānu, 11 f.n. 5, 171 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1, 260.
Ānyaya, 170 f.n. 6.
Āpakṣa, 189 f.n. 5.
Āpakṣarasa, 185.
Āpidbāna, 32.
Apricots, 182.
Āpāpa, 8, 15, 19, 35, 36 f.n. 1, 59, 88 f.n. 1, 92, 103, 112, 136, 137 f.n., 171 f.n. 3, 284.
Ārālika, 120 f.n. 5.
Ārdraka, 279.
Ārhar, 11, also see *Ādbakī*.
Ārjaka, 279.
Āraṅgara, 18.
Ārīṣṭa, 96, 152 f.n. 7, 185, 298.
Ārjuna, 24 f.n. 4.
Āruka, 149, f.n. 1, 267.
Āruṣkara, 267.
Asafoetida, 41, 69, 113, 146, 180, 181, also see *Hīṅgu*.
Āsana, 58 f.n. 1.
Āṣava, 95, 152, f.n. 7, 185, 298.

- śravāṣava*, 185.
gudāśava, 152 f.n. 1.
śrāvāṣava, 152 f.n. 3.
Āśvya, 43.
 Ascetics, food of, 114, 126, 161, 197.
Āścana, 33.
Āśmaka, food of the people of; 200.
Āśmantaka, 267.
Āśudhānya, 10 f.n. 2, 261.
Āśuri, 150 f.n. 1.
Āśuta, 147 f.n. 2, 284.
Āśuti, 43 f.n. 4.
Āśvabalā, 22 f.n. 5.
Āśvakarṇa, 267.
Āśvattha, 32, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 267, 273.
Āśācana, 14.
Āśāṣi, 61 f.n. 3, 71, f.n. 4, 265 also see linseed.
Āśiṭhigva, 16.
Āśmaguptā, 135 f.n. 3.
Āśbhakālikā, 155.
Ānābhīd, 279.
Ānukūla, 284.
Āvadāṁśa, 218.
Āvadātīkā, 44, 298.
Āvakā, 22 f.n. 3, 273.
Āvalgujā, 135 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Āvanti, food and drinks of the people of, 181, 200.
Āvarāṇṇa, 284 also see *Aparāṇṇa*, 62 f.n. 1.
Āyama, 60 f.n. 1, 77 f.n. 4.
Āyasa, 185.
Āyuta, 15 f.n. 5.

B

- Badara*, 21 f.n. 3, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Bāhlika, 181, 200.
Baindra, 16 f.n. 8.
Baja, 20.
Bakkasa, 152 f.n., 298.
Bakula, 267.
Balā, 150 f.n. 1.
Ballāra, 177 f.n. 1.
 Bamboo seeds, 135 f.n. 1, 262 also see *Vemuyava*.
 Banana, 2, 5, 93, 220.
 Banaras, food of the people of, 235.
 Barley, 2, 4, 7, 34, 87, 103, 135, 166, 170, 171 f.n. 1.
 varieties 88, 170.
 Barren cows, 15, 16.
Barukūbaraka, 170 f.n. 4.
 Basin, 6.
 Basket, 98.
Bassilatifolia, 152, also see *Madbāka*.
 Beakers, 6.
 Beans, 22.
 Beastings, 13, 38, 139, 140, 174.
 Beef, 5, 18, 64, 150, 179.
 Beer, 95.
 Betel-chewing, 129, 162, 196, 232, 25-354.
 Betel leaves, 2.
 Betel nut, 2, also see *Kramuka*, p. 96 f.n. 1.
 Beverages, 22, 45, 76, 97, 119, 154, 188, 225, taken after meals, 163, 196.
Bhaditṛaka, 212, 295.
Bhadraka, 104.
Bhājī, 43 f.n. 1.
Bhakkba, 77 f.n. 11.
Bhaktiya, 45, 285.
Bhaktā, 35 f.n. 8, 285.
Bhāllātaka, 114, 149, f.n. 1, 267, also see *Arushkara*.
Bhaydī, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Bhaumapatadgraba, 190 f.n. 6.
Bharjitamāṁsam, 295.
Bhavya, 115 f.n. 1, 149, 267, also see *Kāmarāṅga*.
Bhojanīya, 58.
Bhrīgāra, 78 f.n. 7, 121.
Bhrīṣṭadhānya, 285.
Bhrīṣṭamāṁsam, 295.
Bhūgikā, 213, 295.
Bhūstṛpa, 128, 164, 165, 279.
Bhūtākūra, 285.
Bida, 92, 146, 279.
Bidāli, 73 f.n. 3.
Bidarikanda, 73 f.n. 3.
Bijapūraka, 115 f.n. 1.
Bijottarā, 96, 298.
Bilva, 21, 71, 72 f.n. 114, 129, 149 f.n. 1, 183, 267.
Bilvaparnī, 150 f.n. 1.
Bilvapatra, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Bimba, 93.
Bimbī, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Bimbipatra, 273.
Bimbīṭikā, 273.
 Birds, 5, 16, 106.
Bisa, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 7, 273, also see Lotus stalks.
 Black pepper 41, 180, also see Pepper.
 Black salt, 113.
 Blower, 32.
 Boiled rice, 2, 103.

Boilers, 121.
 Bottlegourd, 22, 73, 164, 184, 220.
 Bowls, 6, 98.
Brāhmaṇas, food of, 51, 57, 85, 99, 102, 235.
 Brassica, 4, 20.
 Bread fruit 71, 114, 183, 220, also see *Panasa*.
Bṛhatti, 273.
 Brinjal, 2, 73, 183, 184, 220.
 Broom, 98.
 Buddhists, and meat diet, 66, 177.
 Buddhists, rules of diet of the, 79, 197.
 Buffaloes, 16.
 Buffaloes, milk of, 13.
 Butter, 2, 15, 89, 139, 140, 174.
 Butter milk, 63, 89, 97, 105, 139, 165, 174 f.n. 6.

C

Cakes, 2, 8, 15, 36, 59, 137, 168, 170, 189, 204, 249, 284.
Cakhalikā, 211, 295.
Cakramardā, 273.
Camasa, 33, 46 f.n. 3.
Camcams, 218.
 Camphor, 164, also see *Karpūra*.
Camū, 33.
Caṇaka, 33 f.n. 2, 61 f.n. 3, 104, 135 f.n. 3, parched, 137 f.n. 5, 203 f.n. 1, 263.
Caṇakaudana, 285.
Cañen, 150 f.n. 4, 273.
Cāṅgeri, 150 f.n. 1, 220 f.n. 5, 273.
 Cardamom, 92, 146, 180.
Caru, 32, 98 f.n. 5, 170 f.n. 1, 285.
Cārūka, 134 f.n. 6.
 Castor seed, 71.
 Categories of food, 58, 78, 102, 133, 168.
 Catmint, 73.
Cavya, 279.
 Cereals, 7, 34, 58, 87, 102, 133, 168, 203.
 inferior, 134 f.n. 6, 135 f.n. 1.
Chatrāka, 150 f.n. 1.
Chāwal, 1.
 Cheese, 14.
 Children, food of, 52, 81, 197.
Chināni, 183, 267, also see peaches.
China-rājpūtra, 183.
 Chop sticks, 190.
 Churning, 14.

Cicinda, 273.
Cidbhita, 92 f.n. 9, 93 f.n. 8, also see *Cirbhita*.
Cilli, 150, 220 f.n. 5, 221 f.n. 1, 273.
Cinaka, 60, 134, f.n. 5, 168 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 1, 260.
Ciñcā, 267, also see *Amlikā*.
Ciñcā pānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
 Cinnamon, 92.
Cirbhita, 150 f.n. 1, 221, 273, also see *Cidbhita*.
Citraka, 150 f.n. 1, 273, 279.
Citrāṇna, 285.
 Citrus aurantium, 20, 71.
 Citrus medica 93, 114, 149, 165, 183.
Civṇā, 10, also see *Prībuka*.
 Clarified butter, 15, 63, 89, 105, 139, 140, 148, 165, 175.
 Cloves, 70, 93, 164, 180.
Coca, 279.
Cocapāna, 76, f.n. 7, 301.
 Cocoanut, 2, 5, 71, 152, 183, 220.
Coraka, 92 f.n. 5, 279.
 Cooking, 27, 45, 77, 97, 120, 155, 187, 225, cooking on a slow fire, 155, 226.
 Cooking pots, 98, 121.
 Cooks, 27, 97, 189.
 Corriander, 92, 113, 146, 180.
 Cudron, 32.
 Cow, 16, 28.
 Cow's milk, 37.
 Cream of curds, 139, 174 f.n. 6, also see *Sara* of milk, 139 also see *Santānikā*.
 Cucumber, 3, 22, 73, 92, 93, 184, 220.
 Cumin, 69, 92, 113, 146, 180.
Cuñen, 150.
 Cups, 5, 6, 33, 98, 121, 190.
 Curds, 10, 97, 105, 139, 140, 165, 174, 208.
 Churned, 130.
Cūrṇādvivāsin, 301.
Cūrṇapādikā, 170 f.n. 4.
 Curries, 5.
 Custard apple, 183, also see *Sitaphala*.
Cūta, 93 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 1.

D

Dadhamvat, 14, 285, also see cheese.
Dadhi, 37, 97 f.n. 1, 174 f.n. 3.
 dadhisaktu, 174 f.n. 3.
 dadhyodana, 174 f.n. 3.
 gūḍadadhi, 174 f.n. 3.

Dadbikārcikā, 175.
Dadhitarā, 174 f.n. 6, 285, also see *Sara*
Dādhyāstira, 23 f.n. 9.
Dādhyodana, 10 f.n. 6, 285.
Dāḍima, 2, 72 f.n., 73 f.n. 94 f.n. 1,
 115 f.n. 1, 194 f.n. 1, 267, also see
 pomegranate.
Dāḍimāpānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
 Dairy products, 12, 37, 62, 88, 89,
 104, 108, 173, 208.
Dakalāvanika, 177, 295.
Damanaka, 92 f.n. 5, 279.
Dandābata, 174 f.n. 6.
Dantastatba, 194 f.n. 1, 268, also see
Jambūra.
Dāraka, 87, also see *Uddālaka*.
Dardura, 134 f.n. 5, 168.
Dārubaridra, 279.
Dārmivāra, 170.
Darvī, 32, 46.
 Dates, 5, 71, 149, 152, 220, also see
Kharjūra.
 Deer, 90, 106.
 Delichos, 2, also see *Kulmāṣa*.
Dīvalikā, 285.
Devikā, 35.
Dhānāḥ, 8 f.n. 5, 34 f.n. 2, 103, 104,
 136 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 3, 285, also see
 parched barley.
Dhanyana, 268.
Dhānyabīja, 9 f.n. 7.
Dhānyaka, 279.
Dhānyāmla, 97 f.n. 1, 301.
Dharmapattana, 181, also see *Marica*
 and pepper.
Dhātakyābbiṣṭa, 298.
Dhātīr, 32.
Dhosaka, 207, 285.
Dhūpita, 77 f.n. 10.
Dillenia Indica, 2, also see *Bhavya*
 and *Kāmarāṅga*.
Dīrgbatūka, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
 Dish, 5, 6, 98, 121.
 Dishes, order of serving, 160, 196,
 230.
 Distillation, 25.
Divyā, 119, 298.
Dobaka, 88.
Dote, 208 f.n. 1, also see *Dhosaka*.
Drākṣa, 72 f.n., 268, also see *Mṛdvikā*
 and Grapes.
Drākṣāpānaka, 301.
 Dravidians, food of, 2, 240.
 Drinks of different castes, 30.

Drinking, 192, also see Intoxicating
 drinks, effect of, 96.
 Drinking condemned, 117.
 Drinking prohibited, 44.
Droṇa, 23, 33.
Dru, 33.
Dṛṣad, 32.
Dṛtī, 33.
Dugdhaṇa, 285.
Dūjaka, 168 f.n. 3.

E

East India, food of the people of, 166.
Eggja, 135 f.n. 3.
 Eggplant, 164.
 Eggs, 64.
Elā, 279.
Elāluka, 73 f.n. 3.
 Emblic myrobalan, 71, 93, 114, 149,
 also see *Āmalaka*.
 Ephedra, 22 f.n. 7, also see *Soma*.
Eraṇḍa, 71, f.n. 4, 265.
Ervārūka, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 273.
 Etiquette, 30, 94, 54, 126, 162, 194,
 231, also see Table manners.
 Exudation, 30, 55, 164, also see
Niryāsa.

F

Fastday food, 53, 198, 235.
 Fasting, 30.
 Feasts, 101, 128, 164, 198, 236, 237.
 Fig, 93, 268.
 Filter, 26, also see Strainer.
 Fish, 2, 5, 15, 16, 31, 66, 90, 106,
 126, 166, 210.
 Flavours, 133.
 Flesh,
 roasted on spits, 17.
 boiled, 17.
 cooked with rice 17, also see
 Māṇṣandana.
 Food, defiled by contact, 29, 50 f.n.,
 difficult to digest, 155, 159, 194.
 easily digestible, 155, 159, 194.
 Food and various castes, 49.
 Food of people living in different
 regions, 165, 200.
 of Jains, 166.
 of the middle class, 129.
 of the miserly people, 236.
 of the poor people, 129, 236.
 of the rich people, 129, 167, 235.

according to seasons, 158, 193.
 stale food, 164.
 Fruits, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 21, 42, 71, 93,
 114, 148, 182, 220.
 varieties, 149 f.n. 1.
 methods of ripening, 71.
 Fruit, juices, 97.
 Frying, 249-250.

G

Gaṅgeruka, 149 f.n. 1, 268, 273.
Gaṇabhojana, 82.
Gaṇḍakustūla, 190 f.n. 2.
Gandhala, 134 f.n. 5.
Gandhana, 168 f.n. 3.
Gandhāra, food of the people of, 200.
Gaṇḍīra, 150 f.n. 1, 273, 280.
 Garlic, 43, 53, 73, 115, 128, 130, 146,
 164, 184, 221, soup of, 184, also
 see *Lafuna*.
Garmūti, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4, 263,
 see *Kulattiba*.
Gaudika, 145, f.n. 285.
Gauḍī, 298.
Gaudyāstava, 119 f.n. 4, 298.
Gaura, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Gaurasarapa, 280.
Gavāḥīra, 13 f.n. 3.
Gavedbuka, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4, 171
 f.n. 1, 184 f.n. 22.
Gavāḥibukā, 71 f.n. 5, 88, 260.
Gavya, 37 f.n. 5.
 Gentleman, food of, 100.
Ghūḍas, 79 f.n. 2.
Ghārikā, 206, 285.
Gbarma, 32.
Ghaṣa, 121 f.n. 6.
Ghaṭikā, 98, f.n. 5.
Ghaṭinābama, 95 f.n. 4.
Ghayapuppa, 69, 268.
Ghee, 10, also see *Ghṛta*.
Ghee, cow's, 63.
Ghevāra, 69.
Ghola, 141 f.n. 2, 268.
Ghṛta, 15 f.n. 5, 139, f.n. 7, 140 f.n.
 4, 174 f.n. 7.
Ghṛtamandam, 140 f.n. 4.
Ghṛtapūra, 145, 179 f.n. 5, 218, 286.
Ghṛtandana, 10 f.n. 8, 286.
 Ginger, 2, 43, 69, 92, 113, 165, 180,
 221.
 Gleanings, 99, 126.
 Go (milk), 12 f.n. 6.
 Goat, 1, 5, 16, 28.

Goblets, 6.
Godbasālikā, 185.
Godhūma, 104, 203 f.n. 1, 260, also
 see *Wheat*.
Go'dhyakṣa, 88.
Gogṇa, 38 f.n. 5.
Gojihva, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Gopīfaka, 79.
 Gourd, 3, also see *Kūṣmāṇḍa*.
Grāha, 33.
 Gram, 11, 104, 166, 171, f.n. 1, 172
 f.n. 8, 205.
Grantbiparpa, 184.
 Grapes, 71, 93, 94, 149, 152, 165,
 182, 183, 220, also see *Drākṣā* and
Myrāvika.
Grāvan, 32.
Greeks, food of, 200.
 Grinding, 27 f.n. 2.
 Grindstone, 46, 97.
Grājāna, 115 f.n. 5, 273, 280.
 Groats, 9, 88, 103, 126, 130, 136,
 165, 168, 171, 172.
 Gruel, 9, 35, 59, 88, 126, 135.
Guḍa, 2, 3, 41, 68, 91, 112, 144, 152,
 179 f.n., 216.
Guḍasarkarā, 144 f.n. 3.
Guḍaudana, 179, 286.
Guḍavikāra, 179 f.n. 4.
Guḍodaka, 77 f.n. 1, 97 f.n. 1, 301.
Guḷalāvāṇīya, 69, 77 f.n. 11, 286.
Guvāka, 2.

H

Haṭyamaṅgavina, 37 f.n. 5, 174 f.n. 7,
 286.
Hamisodaka, 224, 225 f.n., 301.
Hārābūra, 96, 298.
Hareṇu, 61 f.n. 3, 135 f.n. 3, also see
Kalāya.
Haridrā, 2, 20 f.n. 4, 70 f.n., 280.
Haridrodana, 286.
Harimanthaka, 172 f.n. 8.
Haritaka, 94.
Haritakī, 149, 280.
Harīyāga, 77 f.n. 11.
 Harṣa and meat diet, 177.
Hastaka, 190 f.n. 2.
Hastinapur, 39 f.n. 4.
Hāyana, 10 f.n. 2, 35 f.n. 6, 87, 134
 f.n. 3, 260.
 Hemp, 128.
 Hermits, food of, 54, 99, 231.
Hillamoca, 220.

Hills, food of the people living in the, 90.

Himāpānaka, 301.

Hīṅgu, 41 f.n. 8, 70 f.n., 113 f.n. 4, 280, also see *asafoetida*.

Hogplum, 184.

Holaka, 286.

Honey, 18, 40, 67, 91, 104, 112, 143, 152, 178, 216.

varieties, 143 f.n. 5, 178 f.n. 7.

Honey, forbidden, 19, 41.

Horsegram, 61.

Horses, 16, 18.

Hospitality, 27, 28, 46, 79, 98, 122, 156, 190, 226.

Householder, food of the, 53, 99, 161, 197, 231.

Hṛdayasūla, 46.

Humours, 132-33.

Jars, 6, 23.

Jartila, 20, 171 f.n. 1.

Jāti, 113 f.n. 4, 298.

Jātiphala, 164, 280.

Jatumnukha, 134 f.n. 4, 168 f.n. 3.

Jayakālīkā, 185.

Jibṛī, 134 f.n. 6.

Jiraka, 70 f.n. 280, also see *Cumin*.

Jivaka, 274.

Jivanti, 150, 184, 221, f.n. 1, 274.

Jonḍhala, 172 f.n. 3.

Journey, food for, 85.

Jubū, 32.

Juices, 183.

Jujube, 21, 42, 71, 93, 114, 129, 149, 152.

Jūrṇa, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4, 261.

Jūrṇābha, 172.

Jūsa, 77 f.n. 11.

I

K

Idarikā, 206, 286.

Ikṣu, 19, 22 f.n. 9.

Ikṣurasa, 301.

Implements, 98.

Impure food, 28, 29, 48, also see Purity of food.

Impure meat, 29.

Impure milk, 29.

Indus Valley, food of the people of the, 4, 240.

Inguda, 114, 129, 265.

Intoxicating drinks, 2, 24, 43, 74, 94, 116, 151, 185, 221, varieties, 222.

Irā, 3.

Iṣṭaka, 171, 179, 286.

J

Jackfruit, 3, 92, 152.

Jagala, 152 f.n. 1, 185, 298.

Jaggery, 2.

Jains, rules of diet, 79, 234.

Jalapippali, 280.

Jam, 181.

Jāmaṇāla, 172 f.n. 31.

Jambīra, 183, 268, 280, also see *Dantaśaṭha*.

Jambū, 2, 42, 72 f.n., 92 f.n. 9, 115 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1, 183, 268, also see *roseapple*.

Jambue, 79 f.n. 2.

Jambūpāna, 76 f.n. 7, 302.

Kaccara, 286.

Kadalī, 2, 72 f.n., 93 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 1, 268, 274, also see *Moca*.

Kadamba, 73, 150 f.n. 1.

Kādambārī, 75 f.n. 7, 152 f.n. 1, 187, 298.

Kādapiya, 78 f.n. 7.

Kaivarta, 16 f.n. 16.

Kajālī, 68.

Kākamāci, 150 f.n. 1, 274.

Kākaṇḍola, 135 f.n. 3, 274.

Kakkola, 164.

Kalamasāli, 58, 134, 168.

Kalamba, 150 f.n. 1.

Kalambī, 220 f.n. 5, 274.

Kalāṣa, 23, 33, 190 f.n. 2.

Kālatāka, 116, 150 f.n. 1, 274.

Kalāya, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 94 f.n. 6, 150 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1, parched, 137 f.n. 5, 264, 274.

Kālī, 2.

Kālīkā, 44, 298.

Kalinda, 268.

Kaliṅga, 2, 274.

Kāmarāṅga, 2, 268, also see *Bhavya*.

Kāmbalika, 147, 181, 286.

Kamboja, food of the people of, 85, 166.

Kāṅkola, 280.

Kāṁsa, 33.

Kaṇapūva, 60.

Kāñcana, 168 f.n. 3.

Kāñṣa, food of the people of, 181.

Kandupācitamāsa, 295.

- Kaṅgu*, 166, 170, 261, also see *Priyangu*.
Kāñjika, 70 f.n. 4, 286, 302.
Kaṇṭakārikā, 274.
Kāpikāyaṇī, 44, 96, 298.
Kapittha, 22 f.n., 71, 73 f.n., 95, 114, 118, 149 f.n. 1, 152, 220, 268.
Kapitthapāṇaka, 77, f.n. 3, 302.
Kappabūmi, 77 f.n. 7.
Karai, 79 f.n. 2.
Karaka, 121 f.n. 6, 190 f.n. 2.
Karamarda, 71, 72 f.n., 93, 149 f.n. 1, 220, 268.
Karambba, 8 f.n. 7, 14 f.n. 3, 103 f.n. 2, 171 f.n. 3, 268.
Karambbi, 121 f.n. 6.
Karañja, 149, f.n. 1, 268.
Kāravella, 73 f.n. 3, 221 f.n. 1, 274.
Kārawynta, 165.
Karṇadāra, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Karcūra, 149 f.n. 1, 268.
Kardama, 168.
Karīra, 116, 269.
Karīrapāṇaka, 77 f.n. 302.
Karkandbu, 21 f.n. 3, 149 f.n. 1, 269, also see *Jujube*.
Karkandbupāṇaka, 302.
Karkari, 190 f.n. 2.
Karkārūka, 274.
Karkaśa, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Karkaṭi, 274.
Karkoṭaka, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kārotara, 32, also see *strainers*.
Karpūra, 280, also see *Camphor*.
Kāsamarda, 280.
Kāsāra, 204, 217, 286.
Kaṣāya, 44, 299.
Kasaruṇa, 150 f.n. 1, 269, 274.
Kāsmarya, 73 f.n., 114, 149 f.n. 1, 269.
Kāsmaryapāṇaka, 155, 302.
Kastūrikā, 280.
Kaṣya, 186.
Kaṣāba, 121 f.n. 6, 190 f.n. 2.
Kaṣakarna, 207, 287.
Kaṣhillaka, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kaṣhīnjara, 150 f.n. 1.
Kaṣṭhapijjā, 287.
Kelūṣa, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kembuka, 150 f.n. 1.
Kesara, 280.
Khaḍa, 147, 151, 181, 287.
Kavasandī, 212, 295.
Kaykkari, 221.
Khādāniya, 58.
Khadīra, 280.
Khādyaṭapāṇika, 189 f.n. 4.
Khāima, 58 f.n. 7.
Khajjaka, 287.
Khajjabhājaka, 77 f.n. 7.
Khajjaka, 60, 218.
Khalaga, 79 f.n. 2.
Khalva, 263 see *Caṇaka*.
Khaṇḍa, 91 f.n. 7, 144 f.n. 3, 179 f.n.
Khaṇḍakhādya, 179 f.n. 4.
Khaṇḍapāka, 287.
Khaṇḍapāṇaka, 302.
Khāṇḍava, 112, 181 f.n. 6.
Khaṇḍikā, 135 f.n. 3.
Khaṇḍika, 295.
Khāragalana, 79 f.n. 2.
Kharāṣva, 280.
Kharjūra, 21, 72, f.n. 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 269, also see *Dates*.
Kharjūra, 299.
Kharjūrapāṇaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Kholas, 63 f.n. 2.
Kilāla, 26, 44, 89, 118, 299.
Kilāṣa, 287.
Kirātatiketa, 92 f.n. 3, 280.
Kitchen, 156, 189.
Kodrava, 60, 87, 104, 170, 203 f.n. 1, 261.
Kohala, 152 f.n. 221 f.n. 1, 299.
Kola or *Kwala*, 21 f.n. 3, 269, also see *Jujube*.
Kolapāṇaka, 302.
Komkapa, 85, 200.
Koradūṣaka, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1.
Kośa, 33.
Kośali, 213, 295.
Kośātakī, 274.
Kovidāra, 94, 115, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kraucādana, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kṛsara, 11, 36, f.n. 3, 88 f.n. 1, 103, 112, 136, 137 f.n., 170 f.n. 1, 179, 287.
Kṛṣṇapāka, 213, 295.
Kṛṣṇaribhi, 10 f.n. 2, 35 f.n. 6, 134, 168 f.n. 3.
Kṛtaswā, 118 f.n. 1, 299.
Kṣāralavaṇa, 287.
Kṣavaka, 281.
Kṣīra, 12 f.n. 6, also see *milk*.
Kṣīraudana, 10 f.n. 5, 36, 287.
Kṣīrapākamodanam, 9 f.n. 7.
Kṣīraprakāra, 208, 218, 287.
Kṣīrasāka, 175.
Kṣīrasaṅghika, 287.
Kṣīravāṣa, 206, 208, 287.
Kukkuṭāṇḍaka, 134 f.n. 4, 168 f.n. 3.

Kulaka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kulattha, 11, 37, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 104, 135, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264.
Kulatthakūva, 287.
Kulmāṣa, 2, 12, 37, 85, 88, 104, 136, 168, 287.
Kumārājīva, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kumbha, 33, 98 f.n. 5, 121 f.n. 6, 190 f.n. 2.
Kumbhī, 78 f.n. 7, 98 f.n. 5.
Kumwāsa, 61 f.n. 1.
Kumuda, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kuṇḍa, 98 f.n. 5.
Kuṇḍikā, 98 f.n. 5.
Kuntalikā, 275.
Kūra, 2, 288, also see boiled rice.
Kūrcikā, 89, 140 f.n. 6, 287.
Kūrcikāvīkṛtāḥ, 144 f.n. 7, 287.
Kururnda, 134 f.n. 5, 133 f.n. 1, 168 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 1.
Kufara, 19 f.n. 4.
Kāṣmāṇḍa, 116 f.n. 2, 150 f.n. 1, 164, 183, 184, 275, also see Pumpkin-gourd.
Kutumburu, 92 f.n. 5, 280.
Kutumāṇḍaka, 168 f.n. 3.
Kutumbba, 61 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 265, 275, also see Safflower.
Kuṭheraka, 150 f.n. 1, 165, 275.
Kuṭijāra, 275.
Kuṭṭiya, 68.
Kutu, 190 f.n. 5.
Kutupa, 190 f.n. 5.
Kutumbuka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kuvala, 13, 14, 21, 94 f.n. 1, also see *Kola*.

L

Ladduka, 218, 288.
Ladles, 6, 32.
Lājāḥ, 10 f.n. 11, 36 f.n. 1, 103 f.n. 1, 288, also see parched rice.
Lājamayḍa, 10 f.n. 12, 288.
Lakṣmaṇa, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Lakṣa, 73 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1, 183, 220, 269.
Lakṣapānaka, 302.
Lāṅgala, 168.
Lāṅgalakī, 150 f.n. 1.
Lāṅguli, 134 f.n. 3, 275.
Latuna, 73 f.n. 4, 115 f.n. 5, 275, 280, also see garlic.
Laubī, 121 f.n. 6.
Lāvaka, 168 f.n. 3.

Lāvakaṣaka, 134 f.n. 4.
Lavali, 269.
Lavaṇa, 280.
Lavaṇādhyakṣa, 92 f.n. 2.
Lavaṅga, 70 f.n. 1, 280, also see Cloves.
Leather vessels, 27, 190.
Leavings of food, 28, 49, 56, 80, 124, 192.
Leeks, 43, 73.
Lemon fruit, 2, 5, 183.
Lentils, 12, 61, 170 also see *Maśūra*.
Linseed, 71, 93, also see *Ataśi*.
Liquor, 74, 166, also see Intoxicating drinks, distilled, 152.
Liquors, forbidden, 43, 74.
Liquor from kadamba fruit, 75.
Liquor from jālt flowers, 75.
Liquor from palm fruit, 75.
Liquor from treacle, 130.
Locikā, 171, 179, 288.
Lohavāla, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Lohitāṇṇ, 134 f.n. 6.
Lohitāṣālī, 134 f.n. 3.
Lopākāra, 69.
Long bottle gourd, 115, 116, also see *Alabā*.
Long pepper, 20, 41, 69, 92, 146, 180, also see *Pippalī*.
Lonikā, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Lottaka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Lotus stalks, 22, 73, 115, 150 f.n. 1, 184, also see *Bisa* roots, 73, 115.

M

Mādhavī, 75 f.n. 6, 152 f.n. 4, 186, 299.
Mādhu, 96 f.n. 4, 152 f.n. 4, 185.
Madbugolaka, 69, 288.
Madhūka, 22, 75, 119, 152, 269, also see *Bassia Latifolia*.
Madhukroda, 145.
Madhulājā, 69, 112, 170 f.n. 5, 179, 288.
Madhūlikā, 135, 170, 171 f.n. 1.
Madhumastaka, 145 f.n. 3, 288.
Madhupāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Madhupānaka, 302.
Madhuparka, 288.
Madhura, 185.
Madhustṛaka, 69, 145.
Madhvāsava, 119 f.n. 299.
Mādhvī, 299.
Madhyadeśa, food of the people of, 176, 177.

- Madirā*, 118 f.n. 1, 186, 299.
Madugha, 22 f.n. 4.
Madya, 43 f.n. 4, 75, 152 f.n. 7, 299.
Mabāṣāli, 58, 134, 168 f.n. 3.
Mahāvīribi, 10, 35 f.n. 6, 168 f.n. 3, 169.
Maheshwar Navdatoli, 21, 22.
Mahisatūka, 168 f.n. 3.
Mahiṣa, 13 f.n. 4.
Maireya, 44, 75, 96, 116, 118, 152, 185, 186, 299.
Majjā, 147.
Majjika, 288.
Makūlaka, 269.
Mālava, food and drinks of the people of, 181.
Malaya, food of the people of, 200.
Māmsabbūtaṇḍana, 296.
Māmsarasa, 177 f.n. 1.
Māmsaṇḍana, 10 f.n. 10, 17 f.n. 3, 36, 177 f.n. 1, 295.
Māmsa siddha amla yavāgū, 296.
Maṇḍa, 63, 136 f.n. 1, 139 f.n. 7, 173, 288.
Mandadadhi, 140 f.n. 1.
Maṇḍaka, 69, 204, 288.
Maṇḍaliya, 214, 296.
Maṇḍikaparṇi, 150, 220 f.n. 5, 275.
Maṇḍūki, 75.
Māṅgalya, 135 f.n. 3.
Mango, 21, 42, 71, 92, 83, 115, 220.
Manṭha, 13 f.n. 2, 36 f.n. 1, 136 f.n. 3, 288.
Manṭhaka, 88.
Mārdvika, 152 f.n. 5, 299.
Marica, 41 f.n. 8, 69 f.n. 6, 92 f.n. 5, 113 f.n. 4, 281, also see pepper.
Māriṣa, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Markaṭaka, 171 f.n. 1.
Marwaka, 92 f.n. 5, 275, 281.
Māṣa, 2, 11, 12, 30, 37, 55, 61, 87, 88, f.n. 5, 104, 135, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264.
Māṣaparṇi, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Māsara, 3, 26, 44, 299.
Mastu, 14, 139 f.n. 7.
Matāra, 2, 11, 12, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 135, 164, 166, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264, also see lentils.
 —parched, 137 f.n. 5.
Matḥita, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 289.
Mathurā, food of the people of, 201.
Matyāṇḍikā, 68, 91 f.n. 7, 144, 179 f.n.
Mātulūnga, 72 f.n., 149, 165, 181, 269, also see *Citrus medica*.
Manjavanta, 22.
Meals, 192.
Meat, 2, 5, 10, 15, 18, 38, 63, 65, 89, 98, 105, 141, 143, 175, 209.
Meat preparations, 108, 142, 166, 176.
Blyṣṭa, 142 f.n. 6.
Parisṭṭha, 142 f.n. 6.
Pratapta, 142 f.n. 6.
Ullupta, 142 f.n. 6.
Meat of
 Birds, 64, 110, 210.
 Boars, 110.
 Deer, 110, 210.
 Elephants, 65.
 Five-toed animals, 176.
 Fowls, 64.
 Goats, 110, 210.
 Goddā, 64.
 Hare, 109.
 Dogs, 109.
 Oxen, 64.
 Peafowl, 176.
 Pigeons, 64.
 Porcupine, 109.
 Rhinoceros, 110.
 Tortoise, 109.
Meat and Buddha, 66.
Meat, clean, 108.
Meat and Mahāvira, 67.
Meat
 Permitted, 176, 210.
 Prohibited, 176, 177, 210.
 Sanctified, 106.
 Unsanctified, 164.
Meat in a Śrāddha, 39, 176.
Medaka, 95, 299.
Melon, 5, 182.
Meṣaṣṭhī, 92, 96.
Mess, 9, 10.
Metḥikā, 275.
Milk, 4, 12, 13, 89, 104, 138, 166, 175, 208.
 fresh milk, 173.
 overboiled milk, 173.
 of buffaloes, 139, 173.
 of cows, 139, 173.
Milk forbidden, 38, 104 f.n. 8, 159.
Milk-rice, 38, 62, 103, 104, 112, 139, 169, 173.
Moca, 149 f.n. 1, 269.
Mocapāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Modaka, 41, 69, 92, 112, 145 f.n., 179, 217, 289.

Moderation in food 29, 80-81, 125, 158, 193, 229.
 Monks, food of, 82-84.
Moreṇḍaka, 69, 179, 289.
 Mortar, 32, 46, 98.
Mṛdvikā, 93 f.n. 8, 94 f.n. 1, 149 f.n., 269, also see grapes and *drākṣā*.
Mṛdvikāpānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Mṛṣṣāṇa, 289.
Muddikāpāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Mudga, 2, 10, 12, 37, 61, 87, 88 f.n. 5, 104, 135, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 205, 264; parched 137 f.n. 5.
Mudgaparṇī, 150 f.n. 1.
Mudgaudana, 10 f.n. 9, 289.
Mukūlaka, 149, f.n. 1.
Mukunda, 134 f.n. 6.
Mukundaka, 135 f.n. 1, 164, 170 f.n. 4.
Mūlaka, 150 f.n. 4, 275, 281.
Mulāli, 22 f.n. 5.
Mūlaphala, 77 f.n. 11.
 Mullers, 4.
Muñjātaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Murmura, 217, 289.
Musala, 32.
 Mushrooms, 55, 115, 128, 164.
Musta, 281.
 Mustard, 20, 70, 71, 73, 113, 164, 180, 220.
 Mustard oil, 2, 71, 93, 182 f.n. 2, 219.
 Mutton, 5.
 Myrobalan fruit, 21, 69, 180, also see *Āmalaka*.

N

Nāḍī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nāḍīmāśaka, 150 f.n. 1.
Nāḍimdhama, 95 f.n. 4.
Nāgakesara, 281.
Nāgarāṅga, 149, 270.
Naiṣadhabaka, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Nālikā, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nalini, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nandīmāśaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nandīmukhi, 134 f.n. 4, 135, 170, 171 f.n. 1.
Nandīvārtā, 41.
Nārikela, 2, 72 f.n., 115 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1, 270, also see *Cocanut*.
Nārikelapānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Nārikelāsava, 187, 299.
Nārmadeya, 166.
Navanitta, 15 f.n. 5, 57 f.n. 5, 139 f.n. 7, 289.

Negroid; food of, 1, 240.
 Newly married couple, food of, 42 f.n. 1, 53.
Nicula, 149 f.n. 5, 270.
Nikocaka, 149 f.n. 5, 270.
Nimantranā, 100.
Nimba, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nimbuka, 2, 270.
Nimbukapānaka, 302.
Nināhya, 33.
Nipa, 270.
Nippāva, 61 f.n. 3.
Nirguṇḍī, 164.
Niryāsa, 30, also see exudation.
Niṣpāva, 150 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 260, 265, 276, also see *Nippāva*.
Niṣbhāna, 113, 296.
Niṣbhita, 185.
Nivara, 11 f.n. 5, 37, 134, 170, 171 f.n. 1, 261.
 Nonvegetarians, 108, 243, also see Vegetarianism.
 North-west India, food of the people of, 165.
 Nutmeg, 113.
Nyagrodha, 73, f.n., 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 183, 220, 270, 276.

O

Odana, 10, 35 f.n. 8, 88 f.n. 1, 103 f.n. 1, 289.
Odanyagbhara, 77 f.n. 6.
 Oils, 2, 39, 51, 42, 70, 93, 113, 148, 166, 182, 219, sale forbidden 148 f.n. 4.
 varieties, 148 f.n. 3.
 Oil of mustard, 182.
 Oil of safflower, 182.
 Oil of sesamum, 71, 148, 182.
 Oilseeds, 2, 3, 20, 42, 70, 93, 113, 148, 166, 182.
 Oil cakes, 42, 71, 114, 126, 182.
 Omelet, 143.
 Onions, 43, 55, 73 f.n. 4, 94, 115, 128, 130, 146, 164, 184, 220, 221, also see *Palāyḍu*.
 Oranges, 149, also see *Nāgarāṅga*.
 Ox, 15, 16.

P

Pacana, 32.
Pābalikā, 204, 289.
Paiṣṭī, 299.

- Paṭṭika bhakṛya*, 289.
Pakti, 8 f.n. 2, 289.
Pakṣi, 27.
Pakṣamāṇsika, 90 f.n. 1.
Pakṣarasa, 185.
Pālaka, 73 f.n. 3. also see *Pālanḥya*.
Pālala, 41, 91, 289.
Palalaudana, 137 f.n., 165 f.n. 3, 289.
Palāṇḍu, 94 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 5, 276, 281, also see Onion.
Pālāṇḥya, 150 f.n. 2, 164, 220 f.n. 5, 276.
Palāṭa, 13.
Pālimanthaka, 61 f.n. 3.
Palm fruit, 93, 71, 96.
Pāṇḍu, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Pāṇḍukṣāra, 69.
Pan, 121.
Pāna, 85 f.n. 1.
Pānabhājana, 190 f.n. 2.
Pānaka, 154, 155.
Panasa, 3, 72, f.n. 93 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 1, 270, 276, also see bread fruit.
Pañcadāta, 24, 203.
Pāñcāmṛta, 302.
Pañcāṅgulī, 150 f.n. 1.
Pañca-sārapānaka, 303.
Pañcaudana, 289.
Pañcavarṇī, 213, 296.
Pānta, 24 f.n. 4.
Paramāṇna, 289.
Pārāvata, 149.
Parched barley, 8, 104, 130, also see *Dhānāḥ*, sprouted barley 136, f.n. 3.
Parched rice, 10, 112, 136 f.n. 3, also see *Lājāḥ*.
Parisāsa, 32.
Parisṛuta, 26, 44, 299.
Paritūṣkamāṇsa, 296.
Parivāpa, 10 f.n. 11, 290.
Parivoga, 78 f.n. 7.
Parpaṣa, 62, 70, 138, 173.
Parpaṣaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276, 290.
Parpaṣakāḥbala, 149 f.n. 1, 270.
Parṣāka, 71, 72 f.n., 93, 149, 183, 270.
Parūṣakapānaka, 303.
Parvaṇī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Parvapṛṣṭi, 150 f.n. 1.
Pāṣṭin, 16 f.n. 8.
Pāṣṭala, 134 f.n. 4 and 6.
Pataṅga, 134 f.n. 3.
Pāṭhā, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 276.
Pāṭhaya, 85.
Paṭola, 3, 150, 184, 276.
Pataṅga, 168.
Pātra, 33.
Pātrī, 121 f.n. 6.
Patrikā, 204, 290.
Paṭṭana, 166.
Pattūra, 150 f.n. 1.
Paurogava, 189 f.n. 4.
Pavitra, 32.
Payas, 12 f.n. 2.
Pāyasa, 38 f.n. 7, 38, 103 f.n. 1, 139 f.n. 5, 290, also see milk-rice.
Payasyā, 14 f.n. 7, 38, 290.
Peyodana, 35 f.n. 8.
Pea, 4, 11, 61, 88, 94, 166.
Peaches, 149, 182.
Peacock, 90 f.n. 5.
Pears, 149, 192.
Pepper, 69, 92, 113, 146, 164.
Pestle, 32, 98.
Peyā, 136 f.n. 1.
Phalāsava, 118 f.n. 7, 300.
Phalgu, 149 f.n. 1, 270.
Phāṇita, 41, 68, 91 f.n. 7, 118, 144, 177.
Phaṇḍī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Phāruṣakapāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Phenaka, 145 f.n., 177, 290.
Philosophers, food of, 90.
Phoenixilvestris, 21, also see dates and *Kharjūra*.
Phulkaṭa, 4.
Phurkuṇḍī, 185.
Picchila, 189 f.n. 5.
Pickles, 219.
Picu, 271.
Piḥḍae, 79 f.n. 2.
Pīlu, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 164, 276.
Piluparṇī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Piṇḍaka, 290.
Piṇḍālu, 73 f.n. 3.
Piṇḍāluka, 94, 150 f.n. 1, 164, 276.
Piṇḍavāsa, 303.
Piṇḍopadbhāna, 79.
Pinyākavikṛti, 290.
Pippala, 128.
Pippalī, 20 f.n. 5, 41 f.n. 8, 69 f.n. 6, 92 f.n. 5, 281, also see Long pepper.
Pippalimūla, 281.
Pīṣṭila, 33.
Pīṣṭaudana, 177 f.n. 1.
Pistachio, 149.
Pīṣṭa, 296.
Pīṣṭakas, 36, 290.
Pīṣṭapiṇḍa, 88 f.n. 1.
Pīṣṭaka, 78 f.n. 7.

Pitchers, 121.
Piṭṭhara, 98 f.n. 5, 121 f.n. 6.
Pitu, 7, 17.
Plakṣa, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 271, 276.
 Plantain, 71, 115, also see *Kadalī* and banana.
 Plates, 98.
 Plums, 182, also see Jujube.
Polikā, 171, 179, 204, 290.
 Pomegranates, 2, 5, 93, 115, 149, 165, 182, 220.
 Poor people, food of, 85, also see under Food.
 Pork, 5, 64, 210.
 Pot-herbs, 94.
 Poultry, 5.
Povikkari, 221.
Pradigāha māṃsa, 296.
Prāleha, 219.
Pramodaka, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Prapita, 81.
Prapaṭha, 22 f.n. 5.
Prapunnāga, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Prasanna, 75, 95, 119, 151 f.n. 7, 185, 187, 300.
Prasāntikā, 170 f.n. 4.
Pratidhuk, 13 f.n. 6, also see fresh milk.
Pratipāna, 120 f.n. 2, 303.
Priyāla, 71, 72 f.n. 115 f.n. 1, 271.
Priyāṅgu, 11 f.n. 5, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1.
 Proto-Australoids, food of, 1, 140.
Prśadāṇḍa, 14, 38 f.n. 3, 175 f.n. 2, 290.
Prthuka, 10, 36 f.n. 1, 59, 136, 137, f.n., 170 f.n. 1, 290, also see *Civṛā*.
Pṛgābhala, 281, also see Bctelnut.
Pulaka, 2, 85.
Pulinggari, 221.
Pulser, 2, 7, 11, 37, 61, 88, 104, 135, 137, 171, 205, parched, 137.
Pulkkukukari, 221.
Punānāga, 113 f.n. 4.
 Pumpkin gourd, 2, 116 f.n. 2, 183, also see *Kāṣmāṇḍa*.
Punarnavā, 276.
Puṇḍarikā, 168 f.n. 3.
Puṇḍra, 68, 166, 168 f.n. 3.
Puñjīṣṭha, 17 f.n.
Pūpa, 88 f.n. 1, 145 f.n., 179 f.n. 5, 290.
Pūpalikā, 145, 290.
Pūraṇa, 1, 72, 290.

Pūrabbattāka, 296.
Pūrikā, 165 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 4, 207, 290.
 Purity of food, 28, 47, 79, 124, 156, 191, 227.
Puroḍāsa, 8 f.n. 2, 15 f.n. 4, 36 f.n. 1, 45, 290.
Puryalā, 212, 290.
Puṣkarabija, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Puṣkarāvartī, 271.
Puṣpāsava, 118 f.n. 7, 300.
Puṣpavāsa, 303.
Pūtikā, 13, 24, f.n. 4.

Q

Querns, 4.

R

Radish, 43, 73, 183, 220.
Rāga, 120, 147, 165, 181 f.n. 6, 291.
Rāgaṭṭāḍava, 147, 291.
Rāl, 4.
Rājādāna, 93, 149, 271.
Rājakaṣavaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Rājamāṣa, 88, 135 f.n. 3, 164, 172, 265, 276.
Rājikā, 265, 282, also see Brassica.
Rājikārāddha, 291.
Rakṭasālī, 58, 134, 168 f.n. 3.
Rākṣasas, drinks of, 116, 130.
Rākṣasas, food of, 111, 130.
Rāloga, or *Rālaka*, 61 f.n. 3, 261.
 Rams, 16.
Rasa, 296.
Rasālā, 105, 140, 209, 291, also see *Sikharipi*.
Rasgullār, 218.
Rasottarā, 96, 300.
 Rice, 1, 2, 4 f.n. 4, 9, 10, 11, 31, 34, 58, 102, 133, 169, 203 also see *Vrihi*, *Sālī* and *Śaṭtika*.
 varieties, 134 f.n. 4, 10, 35.
 rice with clarified butter, 169.
 rice with curds, 10, 35, 169.
 rice with honey, 35.
 rice with *kulattā*, 169.
 rice with *māṣa*, 169.
 rice with meat, 10, 35.
 rice with milk, 10, 35.
 rice with molasses, 169.
 rice with *mudga*, 169.
 rice with pulses, 35.
 rice with sesamum, 10, 59.
 Rocksalt, 146, 165.

- Rolling pins, 4.
Romaka, 282.
 Roseapple, 2, 42, 71, 92, 93, 115,
 also see *Jambū*.
 Rules of diet, 27, 46, 79, 98, 122, 165,
 190, 226.

S

- Sādava*, 70, 120, 147, 165, 291.
Safflower, 71, 93, 164.
Sāga, 63.
Sabakārasurā, 96, 300.
Sāima, 58 f.n. 1.
Saindhava, 20 f.n. 1, 282.
Sāka, 43 f.n. 1, 94.
Sākabhojin, 94.
Sakkarapānaka, 77 f.n. 1.
Saktu, 8 f.n. 7, 35, 103 f.n. 2, 136 f.n.
 3, 171 f.n. 3, 290, also see groats.
Sakulādanī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sakunālyā, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Sālakalyāṇī, 150 f.n. 1.
Sālāmukha, 134 f.n. 4.
Sāleyamr̥ṣaka, 282.
Sālī, 35, 88, 87, 133, 166, 168, 203 f.n.
 1, 261.
 varieties, 134 f.n. 3, 262.
 Saline preparations, forbidden, 42,
 180 f.n. 3.
Sālmāṣi puṣpa, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
 Salt, 19, 41, 69, 92, 113, 146, 180.
 varieties, 146 f.n. 1, and 2, 180 f.n.
 2, factitious, 164.
Sāluka, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sālukapāna, 76 f.n. 7, 303.
Sālva, 35 f.n. 1.
Sālva country, food of the people of,
 101.
Samājas, 85, 90, 129.
Sāmbhārikā, 96, 300.
Sāmīdhānya, 133 f.n. 4.
Sāmīdhāla, 149 f.n. 1, 271.
Sāmīdhā, 137 f.n. 4, 144 f.n. 7, 291.
Sānudra, 92 f.n. 31, 282.
Sānyāva, 41, 112, 145, 171 f.n. 3, 291.
Sapa, 61 f.n. 3, 128 f.n. 2, 150 f.n. 1,
 171 f.n. 1, 277, also see Hemp.
Sapāṭ, 170 f.n. 4.
Santānikā, 139 f.n. 7, 291, also see
 cream of milk.
Sāntanu, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4.
Sopha, 22, also see *Syngātaka*, 271.
Sāra, 13 f.n. 8, 139 f.n. 7, 291, also
 see cream of curds and *Dadhīfara*.
Sarabarnaka, 135 f.n. 1.
Sārada, 134 f.n. 5, 168 f.n. 3.
Sāragha, 18.
Saraka, 78 f.n. 7.
Sārāmukha, 168 f.n. 3.
Sāraṅgeṣṭā, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sāraivata Brāhmaṇas, food of, 129, 243.
Sārāva, 33, 46.
Sārīna, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Sarkarā, 68 f.n. 7, 91 f.n. 7, 144 f.n.
 3, 178, 208, 216.
 varieties, 179.
Karkasarkarā, 147 f.n. 2.
Pāṭalasarkarā, 179 f.n. 2.
Sarkarāsava, 119 f.n., 152 f.n. 1, 300.
Sarkarāpānaka, 303.
Sarkarāputrikā, 291.
Sarkarāsādhū, 152 f.n. 1, 300.
Sarpachatrāka, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sarpi, 37 f.n. 5, 105.
Sarṣapa, 2, 70 f.n., 71 f.n. 3, 92 f.n.
 5, 150 f.n. 1, 265, 277, also see
 mustard.
Sarṣapataila, 182 f.n. 2.
Satana, 16 f.n. 1.
Saṅkulī, 59, 70, 88, f.n. 1, 91, 103,
 134, 170 f.n. 1, 291.
Ṣaṭṭika, 35 f.n. 7, 87, 133, 134, 169,
 261, 263.
 varieties, 263.
Sātālā, 277.
Satapustī, 277.
Satāvārī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Satan, 42 f.n. 11, 76, 300.
Saṭī, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 277.
Sattina, 135 f.n. 3, 150, 277.
Sattika, 140, 291.
Satiba, 79 f.n. 3.
Saucepans, 190.
Saucers, 6.
Sauṇḍika, 43 f.n. 4.
Saurāva, 296.
Sauṅkala, 16 f.n. 8.
Sawira, food & drinks of the people
 of, 148, 181.
Sawiraka, 181 f.n. 4, 271, 291, 303.
 Scum, 60.
 Seafaringmen, food of, 166.
 Seasalt, 146.
 Seasoned meat, 66, 90, 145.
 Servants, food of, 100.
 Servers of food, 27 f.n. 3.
 Sesamum, 4, 10, 20, 42, 70, 93, 113,
 128, 166, 171 f.n. 1, also see *Tila*.
Sevikā, 204, 292.

- Sheep, 16, 90.
 Shrivelled grain, 2.
Śibira, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4.
Siddha piṣṭa, 88 f.n. 3.
Siddhārtha, 282.
Siddhamānasa, 296.
Śidbū, 75, 119, 186, 300.
ākṣikīśidbū, 152 f.n. 2.
gudāśidbū, 102 f.n. 1.
pakvarasāśidbū, 152 f.n. 1.
śītarasāśidbū, 152 f.n. 1.
 Sieve, 27, 97.
Śigru, 277, 282.
Śihakesara, 69, 292.
Sikhariṇī, 63, 140, 174, 292, also see *Rasālā*.
Simbi, 2, 135 f.n. 3, 277.
 Simplicity of food, 82, 100.
Śiñcitikā, 149 f.n. 1, 271.
Śiṇḍakī, 151, 292.
Sindhu, food of the people of, 166.
Śtravaynta, 277.
Śisira, 170 f.n. 4.
Śtābhīraka, 168 f.n. 3.
Śtāphala, 271.
 Slaughter house, 16.
 Slaves, food of, 100.
Ślepmātaka, 55, 116, 149 f.n. 1, 271, 277.
 Smoking, 163, 197, 255, 256, 257.
Soblā, *Subālī*, 292.
Soma, 186.
Soma juice, 8, 22, 24, 41, 44, 303.
Soup, 88.
 Sour gruel, 2, 92, 97, 146, 166, 181.
 varieties, 146 f.n. 7, 181.
 South Indians, food of, 166, 201, 220, 221, 222, 235.
Sovira, 77 f.n. 4.
 Spices, 2, 20, 41, 69, 92, 113, 166, 218.
 Spices, A small box for, 98.
 Spikenard, 92.
 Spoons, 190.
 Spittoon, 79, 190.
 Sprouted grains, 97, 173.
Śrāddha, 101, 113, 116, 164, 165, 172, 182, 199, 219.
Śrāṇa, 43 f.n. 1.
Śrapayitṛ, 27 f.n. 3.
Śreyasī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Śrīkhaṇḍa, 292.
Śrīkukkuṣa, 181, 292.
Śrīgāṭaka, 71, 72, 114, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Śrīgavera, 2, 70 f.n., 92 f.n. 5, 282.
Śrīta, 13 f.n. 7, 292.
Śruca, 32.
Śruva, 32, 46.
Stands, 6.
 Stands for waterpots, 154.
 Steamer, 190.
 Sterile cows, 17.
 Stewpans, 190.
Stibālī, 33, 46, 98 f.n. 5, 258-59.
Stibālpāka, 45, 292.
 Strainer, 23, 32, 76, also see Filter.
 Students, food of, 30, 42 f.n. 1, 81, 99, 111, 126, 161, 231.
 Stuffing, 113, 142, 145, 172.
Sudarśana, 116, 277.
Śūdra, 47, 50, 57.
Sugābhika, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
 Sugar, 112, 144, 217.
 varieties 144 f.n. 5, also see *Sarkarā*.
 Sugar-industry, 251, 252.
 Sugarcandy 68, 91, 144.
 Sugarcane 19, 41, 68, 112, 143.
 varieties 143 f.n. 8, 178 f.n. 8, 217
 juice 144 f.n. 2, 152, 185.
Subālī, 204.
Subma, 151.
Sūkadbānya, 133 f.n. 4.
Sūkara, 168 f.n. 3.
Sūkaramaddava, 67.
Suklaṛṭhī, 10 f.n. 2.
Sukta, 92 f.n. 9, 146, also see vinegar.
Sūla, 33.
Sūlya, 38 f.n. 5, 177 f.n. 1, 296.
Sūvā, 33.
Sūnādhyakṣa, 89, f.n. 5.
Suṇḍin, 95 f.n. 4.
Sunijannaka, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 220, 277.
Sunibaka, 210, 214, 282, 296.
Sūpa, 37, 62, 65, 77 f.n. 11, 113, 120, 137 f.n., 292.
Sāphānī, 79 f.n. 2.
Sūrā, 24, 25, 43 f.n. 4, 44, 75, 96 f.n. 6, 118, 151 f.n. 7, 185, 186, 300.
Sūrādhyakṣa, 94 f.n. 11.
Sūraṇa, 94, 277.
Sūrāsava, 119, 151, 186, 300.
Sūrpa, 33, 46 f.n. 3.
Suṣā, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 277.
Suṣavī, 282.
Suṣka-mānasa, 177 f.n. 1.
Suṣka-sāka, 292.
Suvarcalā, 150 f.n. 1, 164, 278.
Svadhiti, 33.
Svastika, 41, 137, 171 f.n. 4, 292.
Svetasurā, 96, 185, 300.
 Sweets, 19, 41, 69, 91, 112, 144, 179, 217.

Syāmāka, 11 f.n. 5, 37, 60, 134, 135
f.n. 1, 170, 171 f.n. 1, 261.
Syrups, 76, 77, 154, 181, 187.

T

Table manners, 54, 84, 99, 126, 160,
162, 195, 231.
Taboos, 19, 30, 55, 88, 128, 164, 198,
235.
Tailaghata, 98 f.n. 5.
Tailakūra, 182 f.n. 3.
Tailayavāgā, 182 f.n. 3.
Takra, 139 f.n. 7, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 292.
Takrapīṇḍaka, 175.
Takraudana, 292.
Tāla, 72 f.n.
Tālakka, 75 f.n. 7, 300.
Tālapbala, 93 f.n. 8, 149 f.n. 1, 272.
Tālapralamba, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tālasārya, 150 f.n.
Tamarind, 93.
Tāmbula, 2.
Tāmbūlakaraka, 190 f.n. 2.
Tāmracarapa, 190 f.n. 2.
Tanḍula, 1, 11 f.n. 2, 136 f.n. 3.
Tanḍulīyaka, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tan̄ka, 271, 300.
Tāntrikas, 222, f.n. 8, 245.
Tāpaka, 190 f.n. 2.
Tapanīya, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Tāpikā, 190 f.n. 2.
Tarasa, 2.
Tārūṇī, 278.
Taruṣa, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tattaka, 78 f.n. 7.
Tanvara, 271.
Tejapatra, 282.
Tewana, 181, 209, 292.
Thavikā, 78 f.n. 7.
Tickets for food, 85.
Tikābhajana, 82.
Tila, 70, 71, f.n. 1, 87 f.n. 3, 203 f.n.
1, 265, also see *sesamum*.
Tilaparpikā, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tilaparpaja, 293.
Tilapiṇyākavikṛti, 182 f.n. 7.
Tilaudana, 10 f.n. 7, 292.
Tilavikṛti, 292.
Tilodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 304.
Tilataila, 182 f.n. 2.
Tipḍita, 278.
Tinduka, 71, 72, f.n. 149, f.n. 1, 271.
Tintiḍika, 272.
Titan, 27 f.n. 2, 32.

Todana, 272.
Toddy tapping, 3.
Toyakarmāntika, 187.
Toyaparpī, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4.
Toyasyāmāka, 170 f.n. 4.
Trapabispinosa, 22.
Trapayam, 174 f.n. 4.
Trapusa, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 278.
Treacle, 165.
Triputaka, 135 f.n. 3, also see *Kalīya*.
Triṣṭa, 165.
Tṛyābhānya, 170 f.n. 4.
Tṛyāśīya, 149 f.n. 1, 272.
Tṛyāṇī, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tṛyāśīra, 23 f.n. 10.
Tāda, 149 f.n. 1, 272, also see *Mul-*
berry.
Tulasī, 282.
Tumburu, 282.
Tundi, 3.
Turmeric, 2, 20, 63, 92.
Tūrṇaka, 143 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Turnips, 55.
Tuṣṭodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 181 f.n. 4, 304.
Tvak, 282.
Tvaritaka, 134 f.n. 4.

U

Uccāvaca bhakṣya, 112.
Udāicana, 22.
Uddra, 171 f.n. 1, also see *Uddālaka*.
Udāsvit, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 293.
Udābheda, 92, 146, 282.
Uddālaka, 134 f.n. 5, 134 f.n. 1, 166,
168 f.n. 3.
Udumbara, 42, 73 f.n., 115, 128, 149
f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 217 (Sweets),
220, 272, 278, 293 (Sweets).
Ujvala, 134 f.n. 5, 168 f.n. 3.
Ukḥā, 32, 46 f.n. 3, 98 f.n. 5.
Ullupta māṇṣa, 296.
Ulākābala, 32, 46 f.n. 4.
Umbāḥ, 138, 293.
Uṇḍeraka, 138, 298.
Upadāṇṣa, 43 f.n. 2.
Upamanthanī, 33.
Upasecana, 65 f.n. 6, 41 f.n. 8.
Upasecanī, 32.
Upasthānatālā, 77 f.n. 5.
Upavāka, 11 f.n. 5, 261.
Upodaka, 278.
Upodikā, 150 f.n. 1.
Urubāka, 150 f.n. 1, 184 f.n. 2, 278.
Urumāḥa, 149 f.n. 5, 272.

Urvāruka, 22, 92 f.n. 9, 93 f.n. 8, 130 f.n. 1, 278.
Uṣanā, 22 f.n. 5.
Uṣinara, food of the people of; 200.
Uṣtra, 282.
Uṣṇikā, 35 f.n. 2, 293.
Utensils, 27, 32, 33, 46, 78, 79, 98, 121, 190, 226.
 —fit for various food articles, 156, 226.
Utkārikā, 145, 170, 293.
Utkata, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4.
Utpala, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Uttaribhaṅgam, 70, 85, 293.
Uṣṭhīya, 79 f.n. 2.

V

Vasā, 283.
Vāhika, food of the people of, 129, 166.
Vaidalāḥ, 293.
Vājina, 14 f.n. 8, 174 f.n. 6, 293.
Vajrakanda, 93 f.n. 8, 94, 278.
Vallūra, 2.
Vaṇitāṇkura, 278.
Vanamudga, 135 f.n. 3.
Vānarar, drink of, 116.
 —food of, 130.
Vanaspati, 32.
Vanatiktaka, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vapāśrapaṇi, 46.
Vāpya, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Varas, 79 f.n. 2.
Varaka, 61 f.n. 87, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 168 f.n. 3.
Varābamānaka, 121 f.n. 6.
Vārkaṣa, 224, 304.
Varṣābhā, 278.
Varṣopalagolaka, 217, 293.
Vārtika, 149 f.n. 1, 150, 272, 278, also see Brinjal.
Vartikā, 145, 293.
Varuṇā, 278.
Vārūṇi, 75, 116, 118, 152 f.n. 6, 186, 222, 301.
Vasā, 147.
Vāsaka, 165.
Vasira, 272.
Vāstuka, 150, 184, 220, 278.
Vaṣa, 128.
Vaṣaka, 2, 57, 62 f.n. 1, 101, 205, 206, 293.
Vātāma, 149 f.n. 1, 272, also see almond.
Vaṭiṅgana, 2.

Vatsādanī, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vaṭṭimaka, 279.
Vātya, 2, 103, 136 f.n. 3, 293.
Vedic Indians, food of, 7-32, 240.
Vegetables, 3, 22, 43, 73, 94, 115, 150, 183, 220.
Vegetarianism, 17, 40, 66-67, 91, 108-11, 145, 178, 215.
Venison, 64.
Venṣaparnī, 170 f.n. 4.
Venṣyava, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 6, 171 f.n. 1, 262.
Vesavāra, 113, 142, 145 f.n. 5, 172, 297.
Vesṭikā, 207, 294.
Vetasa, 150 f.n. 1.
Vetrāgra, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vetrāphala, 272.
Vibhītakā, 149, 152, 272, 283.
Vida, 113.
Vidalapāka, 205, 294.
Vidārikanda, 150 f.n. 1, 279.
Vikāṇkaṭa, 272.
Vilepi, 136 f.n. 1.
Vimardaka, 179, 294, 297.
Vindhya region, food of the people of, 176.
Vinegar, 70, 92, 146, 165, 181, varieties, 147.
Viniya, 43.
Virūḍha dbānāḥ, 136 f.n. 3.
Virūḍhaka, 294.
Viśvabhaṣa, 283.
Viśṭārin, 294.
Viśyanda, 137, 294.
Vitānaka, 171, 179, 294.
Vrīhi, 35, 58, 87, 135, 203 f.n. 1, 262, varieties, 134 f.n. 4, 262.
Vrkadbūmaka, 279.
Vrkāṣḍanī, 279.
Vrkāṣmūla, 272.
Vṛṣapuzpa, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vṛṣyapūpalikā, 279.
Vṛjāṇana, 41 f.n. 8, 70, 77, 85, 181 f.n. 4, 218, 294.

W

Water, 3, 26, 45, 76, 119, 153, 187, 224.
 —purification of, 153, 224.
 water-suitable for different seasons, 224.
Waterjars, 98, 121.
Watermelon, 2.

Waterpots, 98.
 Weighing-balance, 98.
 Weights, 90 f.n. 1, 98.
 Wheat, 4, 9, 11, 31, 35, 88, 135, 166,
 170, 171 f.n. 1.
 varieties, 135, 170.
 Whey 139 f.n. 7, 165, 208.
 Widows, food of, 42 f.n. 1.
 Wines, 166, also see Intoxicating
 drinks.
 Winnowing basket, 98.
 Women, food of, 100.
 Wooden tubs, 23.

Y

Yāgu, 59.

Yātuka, 150 f.n. 1, 279.
Yava, 7 f.n. 3, 34 f.n. 2, 88 f.n. 2,
 185, 203 f.n. 1, 263, also see Barley.
Yavāgu, 9 f.n. 2, 35, 88 f.n. 3, 103,
 136 f.n. 1, 171, 171 f.n. 3, 294.
Yavaka, 35 f.n. 6, 103, 134 f.n. 3,
 168 f.n. 3.
Yāvaka, 35, 88 f.n. 3, 294.
Yavakjāra, 92 f.n. 3, 283.
Yavānī, 34 f.n. 2, 88 f.n. 2, 279, 285.
Yavasāka, 150 f.n. 1, 279.
Yavāsakarharā, 144, 179.
Yavodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 304.
Yūja, 61, 137 f.n. 6, 173, 294, 279,
 304.
Yūthikā, 279.



Get
N 3115176

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

S. B. 148. N. DELHI.